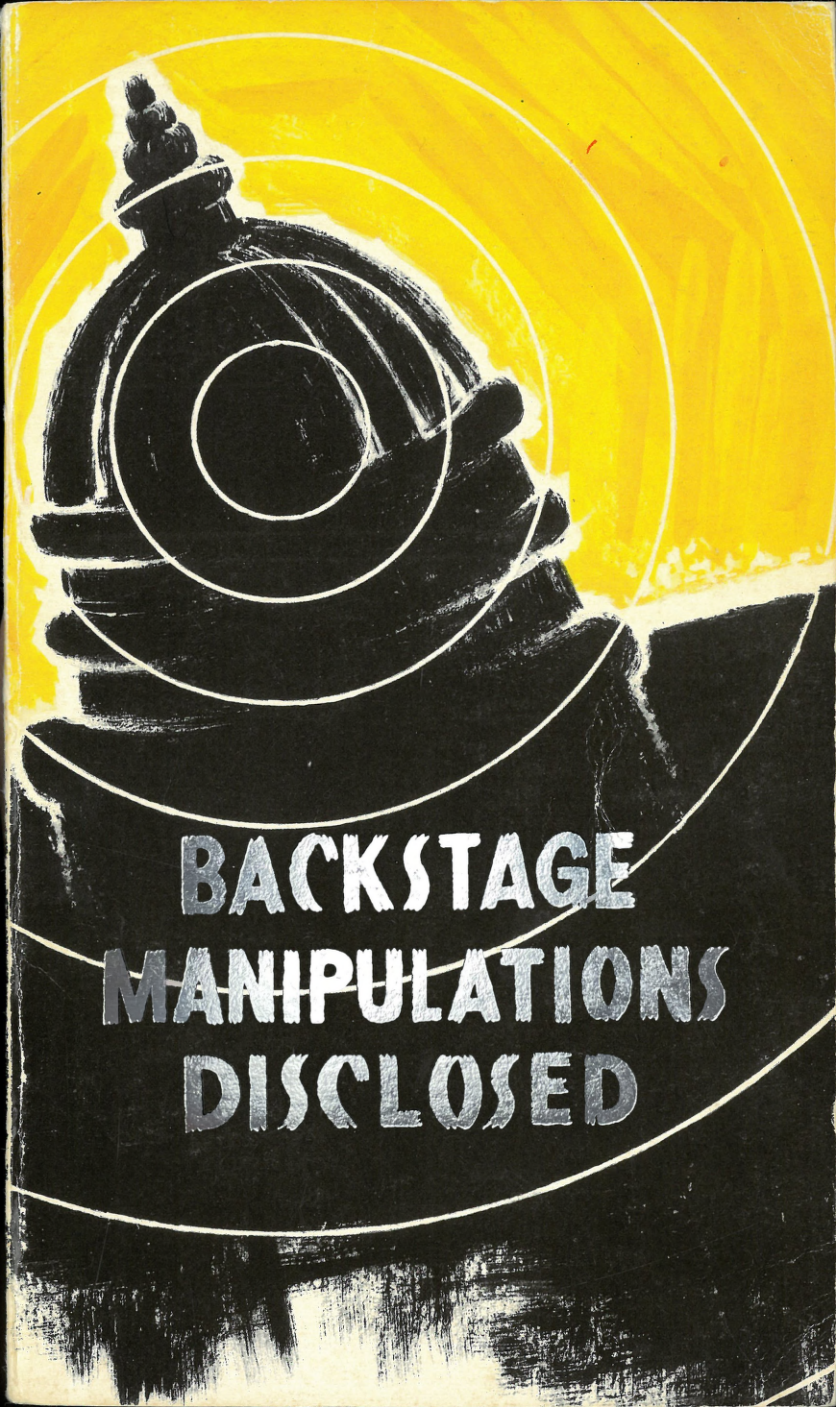
BACKSTAGE
MANIPULATIONS
DISCLOSED

Backstage Manipulations Disclosed

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CONTENTS

Preface 1

1. The End of Syngman Rhee 3

Dirty Footprints 3
Prelude to the History of Occupation 8
Scenario of US Imperialism 10
A Puppet Play 17
Reduced Position of the Stooge 19
Urgent Confidential Telegram 22
The "Operations Ever Ready" 27
Rotten Politics 30
Crisis 33
An Ultimatum 37

2. The Dictator Who Was Sent to His Grave 40

Under the Aegis of His Master 40
The Secret Agent in Disguise 42
Mastermind of the "Coup D'etat" 44
The Third Hint 46
The Day of Crime 49
The Mask Was Dropped 51
The Midwife for Fascist Dictatorship 55
Tentacles of Conspiracy 60

The Wirepuller and the Puppet 64
Ominous Foreboding 70
Shots Rung Out at Kungjong-dong 72
"The United States Is at My Back" 76

3. The Fascist Maniac Is Doomed to Ruin 80

Potential Stooge 80
The Masters' "Confidence" 81
Authorized Brandishing of the Sword 83
Climbing to the Head of the Fascist Regime 87
US Advisers behind the Scene 92
Symptoms of Doom 93
"The Second Military Blackguard" 100
Wirepulling 106
The Operations on the Spot 110

Preface

The US imperialists are wont to say that there are "laws", "parliament," "government," and "political parties" in south Korea.

However it is not the statesmen of south Korea but the US imperialists who, occupying its territory by force of arms, wield real power in everything, enacting "laws," manipulating the "parliament" and whipping up a "government".

They enforced "military administration" in the early stage of its occupation, and then in 1948 rigged up the south Korean "government" and have since been continuing with crafty neocolonialist rule.

It is an absolute truth that he who wants to enter the office of "President" in south Korea should catch the fancy of the Americans. Adhesion to the colonialist policy of the United States is the primary requisite for "Presidency."

Therefore, the US imperialists have no qualms about sacking or shooting their south Korean puppets whenever they are displeased with him or find him useless after years of service as an instrument of their policy of aggression and plunder.

This was the case with Syngman Rhee who they had trained and put in office as the first President (1948-1960) and with Park Jung Hee who they had permitted to seize power by staging a military coup to overthrow

the Democratic "Cabinet" (1960-1961) established in the wake of April 19 Popular Uprising.

The same fate as that of their predecessors awaits Chun Doo Hwan who usurped power by staging the "coup of purging the army" in 1979 and the "May 17 military coup" the next year under the manipulation of the US imperialists and Roh Tae Woo gangster who seized the office of the puppet President of the military dictatorship in 1988 in accordance with the libretto of the US imperialists.

The frequent change of the "government" and replacement and assassination of the "President" in south Korea appear externally to result from inner quarrels, but it becomes clear when one inquires into the truth that "secret directives" are always at their bottom.

Now let us take a closer look into the facts.

1. The End of Syngman Rhee

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Syngman Rhee has been trained by the US imperialists for nearly 40 years as their faithful stooge, and all our people hate the traitor." (Kim Il Sung, *Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. 4, p. 243.)

From the middle of the 19th century, the US imperialists stretched out their crooked hands of aggression to Korea and carefully trained their stooges. They marked out Syngman Rhee as a "useful man" and took him to the United States for training.

Strongly infected with American worship from his early years, he nurtured the disposition required for a stooge and learned the tricks of betraying the people and selling out the country after he was taken to the United States.

Dirty Footprints

One day in October 1945, a US military plane took off from Haneda Airport of Japan. In the special plane provided by MacArthur, the then Commander-in-Chief of the US Armed Forces, Pacific, there was an old man sitting with a grave expression.

The officers from the headquarters of the US armed forces who were on board were not much concerned as to who the man was. Only the US officer escorting him

knew that he was Syngman Rhee who was going to US-occupied Seoul under the protection and with the confidence of MacArthur. He had long been under the influence of the US imperialists who were concerned for him.

From the time when they attempted to invade Korea with the armed aggression ship *General Sherman,* the US imperialists sent in missionaries as their scouts for aggression, saying, "In order to increase our influence in Korea, we must do everything in our power to propagate Christianity." Thus, a host of missionaries such as Underwood and Apenceller found their way into Korea.

Calling themselves apostles of "God," they opened hospitals, and schools in many places.

Addressing the American missionaries gathered at Chong-dong of Seoul, Foot, American minister to Korea at the time, said that the United States would actively help them without sparing dollars and so they should build many hospitals and schools not for treating and educating Koreans but for making even one more Korean trust and follow the United States.

In those days there was a school called Paejae Hakdang in Seoul. It had been founded by American missionary Apenceller for charitable purposes.

Syngman Rhee attended this school, where he was instilled with the flunkeyist idea of American worship. He immediately attracted the attention of the American missionaries.

The US imperialists enlisted him in the pro-American organization "Hyopsong Association", and made him take the lead in spreading American worship and clipping the Korean people's spirit of independence.

Finding an unusually strong spirit of American wor-

ship in him, the missionaries sent him to the United States by a US ship in November 1904 in order to use him more effectively in the future.

As he left the Inchon port for the United States, he had in his trunk a letter of introduction from Apenceller to a member of the Covenant Presbyterian Church which said that Syngman Rhee was a man of great devotion to the Lord and asked the Presbyterian to arrange matters for him to be baptized in Washington.

Syngman Rhee often met prominent political figures of the United States and was tested and trained by them.

As he was treated with increasing care and favour by the high-ranking officials of the United States, Syngman Rhee was involved deeply in the US imperialists' moves for aggression and plunder of Korea. Thus, he made public speeches in Washington, San Francisco and other places that in accordance with the "Korea-US treaty," the United States must actively interfere in Korea, and even launched signature-collecting campaigns to endorse it.

The "Korea-US treaty" was an out-and-out aggressive and subordinating lopsided treaty struck up by the US imperialist aggressors in May 1882 by coaxing and deceiving the corrupt and incompetent feudal rulers of Korea under the hypocritical signboard of "peace" and "friendship".

The Americans were most pleased at the behaviour of Syngman Rhee who was busying himself upholding the treacherous treaty which was cursed and denounced by the entire Korean people. Thus they opened for him the door of George Washington University and then Princeton University to use him as their tool in seizing Korea in the future. He stuffed up his head with the

flunkeyist, country-selling ideas at these universities.

At that time, the US imperialists put up Wilson's principle of self-determination of peoples and sought to spread the illusion that Korea could win independence with US "aid". Syngman Rhee was made the principal actor in this play.

After the termination of World War I, the US imperialists sent him to the peace conference to solicit for "separating Korea from under Japanese rule to be placed in the care of the United States".

On March 1, 1919, a nationwide anti-Japanese uprising broke out. But the anti-Japanese resistance struggle of the whole nation waged by our people came to grief due to the Japanese imperialists' brutal suppression and massacre.

At 10 o'clock in the evening of April 10, that is 40 days after the day when the angry cries of the anti-Japanese insurgents shook the whole land of Korea, persons known as "champion of the independence movement" or "exile" gathered in a house on a street of Shanghai, China.

The agenda of the meeting that night was the question of "forming a provisional government". On the secret instructions of the US imperialists, Syngman Rhee appeared at the meeting in the guise of leader of the independence movement and insisted on placing Korea under the mandate of the United States.

At an interview with reporters from various countries, too, he tried to justify the idea of mandatory rule in every way, declaring that an agreement had been reached on it between the high-ranking US officials and himself.

A reporter who was disappointed at the fact ran down

Syngman Rhee calling him a "variety of oriental with American blood in his veins."

A certain historian expressed indignation at him, it was reported, saying, "Syngman Rhee is a traitor worse than Li Wan Yong (the quisling who sold out Korea to the Japanese imperialists in 1905). Li sold out the existing country, but Rhee has sold away the lost country even before recovering it."

One day early in 1945 when the defeat of Japanese imperialism was in sight, Syngman Rhee called on Professor Robert Oliver of Bucknell University, Pennsylvania, who had a wide acquaintance in the political world of the United States. After giving him a bribe, he implored the professor to write a letter to the State Department in his behalf. The letter was, as it were, a "request for American interference in Korea."

In those days the US imperialists were earnestly carrying into effect their underhand plan for seizing Korea. But Oliver, pretending to know nothing about the plan, gave a ready consent to his request.

Several months later, on July 21, 1945, Syngman Rhee wrote a letter to MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the US Armed Forces, Pacific, who was in the Philippines, entreating him to land US troops in the south of Korea as soon as Japan surrendered.

This was a good occasion for Syngman Rhee to get into MacArthur's confidence.

As a result, according to the instructions of the US Department of the Army, Syngman Rhee set foot on the land of Japan and then flew over to Korea after hearing the words of MacArthur to be more loyal to the United States.

Prelude to the History of Occupation

According to the south Korean newspaper *Hanguk Ilbo* of August 10, 1985, the US Department of State worked out a "plan for divided occupation of Korea by four powers" on the order of US President Roosevelt and sought to carry out their wicked scheme for seizing the southern area of Korea.

After Truman succeeded to Roosevelt as President on his death, the scheme became more pronounced. With the design of landing US troops in the Korean peninsula, Truman gave instructions on August 10, 1945, for a working group to decide on the zone to be occupied by them.

The final proposal submitted at the discussions said that the peninsula be divided into two zones—north and south—with latitude 38 degrees North as the demarcation line on the pretext of fixing the areas for disarming the defeated Japanese forces and that the southern zone be occupied by the US troops. The 38 degrees north latitude had been the dividing line between the area controlled by the Kwantung Army of Japan and that under the direct control of the Japanese imperialist army headquarters, that is, between the areas controlled respectively by the 19th Division of Japanese imperialist army of aggression stationed in Ranam and the 20th Division in Ryongsan.

This proposal was immediately agreed upon by the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee. On this basis, the US Secretary of War worked out "General Order No. 1" the next day and handed it over to Byrnes,

the then State Secretary, which was made public after ratification by Truman.

The American ruling quarters that had hammered out the "General Order No. 1" gave it to MacArthur in the Philippines even without seeking to obtain the formal consent of the Soviet Union and other members of the Allies.

At the same time, a "classified document" was sent to him, which suggested that for the time being, the colonial ruling machine of Japanese imperialists should be maintained at work as it was and that the mode of rule in the Philippines should be adopted gradually.

This was how the tragic 38th parallel line of demarcation came into being to cut in two the land of Korea where our people had lived for ages as a single nation.

Prior to the landing of the US imperialist army troops of aggression in Inchon, Proclamation Nos. 1 and 2 of MacArthur were made public which established military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof, declaring that anyone who should refuse to comply with this would be punished with death and other penalties. This was nothing short of the wild words of Terauchi, Japanese imperialism's first governor-general in Korea, who raved after Japanese seizure of Korea: "Koreans should obey the law of Japan or die."

On September 8, 1945, the US imperialist forces of aggression landed in Inchon under the escort of Japanese imperialist army troops and police. Thus started the criminal history of the US imperialists' south Korean occupation.

Syngman Rhee was very much delighted at the news that the US imperialist forces of aggression came with

their guns, warships and tanks to south Korea which was bubbling over with the joy of liberation.

After their military occupation of south Korea, the US imperialist aggressors proclaimed the establishment of "military government" on September 11 and changed the Japanese imperialist plate of "Government-General of Korea" with that of "US Military Government".

US Military Governor Arnold declared: "The authority and rights of the former Governor-General of Korea shall be taken over by myself, that is Military Governor Arnold."

The evil laws of Japanese imperialist colonial rule remained valid by virtue of "Military Government Ordinance No. 21," and Japanese army officers were put in important posts of the US "Military Government".

Again dark clouds hung heavily over south Korea where the jubilant cries of liberation had been resounding.

Scenario of US Imperialism

The US imperialists who seized half of the Korean territory militarily brought Syngman Rhee to Seoul. They had nursed him over 40 years to be their tool. It was on October 16, 1945 that Syngman Rhee landed at Kimpo Airport. That day the airport was deserted and quiet. No one came out to welcome the arrival of Syngman Rhee at Seoul who had been throwing his weight about in Washington, Hawaii and other places under the cloak of "independence" as if he had been a "bigwig".

Only a jeep of the headquarters of the US armed

forces was quietly waiting for him outside the airport.

At first the US imperialists kept silent about his arrival in Seoul. They instructed Hodge to treat Syngman Rhee with some reserves. This was a trick to present him as a "leader" chosen by the south Korean people themselves.

Now the riffraff who had been living abroad in obscurity flocked to Seoul. Forming themselves into a group force, they revealed their lust for power, pretending to be "independence champion" and "participant in the national movement" respectively.

It was obvious that if the US imperialists should openly grant "privileges" to Syngman Rhee people of other groups would also clamour for recognition.

Some time later, as the news of Syngman Rhee's stay in Chosun Hotel spread, bills demanding, "Make public the true colours of Syngman Rhee," were put up at many places of Seoul including the Namdaemun and Kwanghwamun areas.

In this situation US imperialism found it impossible to keep Syngman Rhee hidden under its wings interminably.

24th US Army Commander Hodge was compelled to hold a "welcoming ceremony" and introduced Syngman Rhee in a grand style as if he had been a big shot.

At last, on February 14, 1946, the US imperialists set up the "Democratic Assembly" with Syngman Rhee in the chair and Kim Gyu Sik as his deputy. After that, in December the same year, they established the "Transitional Legislative Assembly of South Korea" with Kim Gyu Sik as its chairman and Choe Dong O and Yun Gi Sop as its vice-chairmen.

The US imperialists staged such farces because their rule through military government ran up against a stiff resistance of the south Korean people from the outset.

According to the public-opinion poll conducted by the US military government, all those who answered the questions straightforwardly expressed their dissatisfaction and skepticism towards US military government and manifested a strong desire to get rid of it and set up an independent government. (South Korean publication *Thirty-Years' Stay of the US Army in South Korea.*)

The south Korean people's dissatisfaction with US military government grew as time went by. Arnold considered it no longer possible to continue with military rule and in mid-October 1946 submitted to Truman an emergency report about the necessity of introducing administration by the neocolonialist method as soon as possible in south Korea as already discussed and a proposal for the formation of a government headed by Syngman Rhee.

Truman who received Arnold's report summoned Hodge and Syngman Rhee to Washington hastily to persuade the hard-liners who were insisting on ruling by a government general. He made them attend an open hearing of the US Congress on the question of aid and explain the importance of the establishment of a "government" in south Korea.

At this open hearing Hodge stressed that the north had 500,000 troops ready and was trying to "attack the south." After him Syngman Rhee said that only when a separate government was set up in the south would it be possible to reunify the territory by relying on it.

But with this alone it was impossible to convince the stiff-necked elements of the US ruling circles. In order to settle this problem Truman dispatched Wedemeyer, a leading figure of the elderly group who was an ex-soldier to south Korea early in August 1947. The purpose of his travel to Seoul was to study the practical measures to keep hold easily of south Korea which was under military administration.

After nearly one week's observation of the situation in south Korea, he left for home quietly. He met and discussed the matter many times with the elderly group of ex-soldiers and monopoly financial groups, before he presented a classified report to Truman. It contained the following clauses:

1) The United States should continue its occupation of south Korea;

2) For this, it is pressing, in view of the south Korean people's persistent demand for the establishment of an independent government, to set up a "government" with local people capable of guarding the interests of the United States. Such a "government" will also serve as a necessary instrument in carrying out the long-range policies of the United States to dominate the whole of south Korea.

This confidential report of Wedemeyer proved to be adding fuel to the scheme of Truman to establish a "separate government" in south Korea. The US imperialists rushed their plan in every way to set up a "separate government" of south Korea headed by Syngman Rhee.

When Kim Gyu Sik rejected the instructions to pass a "general election law" at the "Legislative Assembly" to establish a "separate government", Hodge rang up Kim

Gyu Sik in the depth of night by military telephone and pressed him to pass the law.

Prior to the "separate election" in 1948, Hodge called up Kim Gyu Sik once more on the telephone and told him that the United States attached great importance to the establishment of the south Korean government in carrying its strategy and policy on Korea into reality. In view of the political situation, putting up the sign of the "South Korean Government" on the "Capitol Building" could not be delayed any more, he added. Those who were against the election were barehanded. Then, he said that Kim Gyu Sik was not the Vice-President of the titular Provisional Government of the bygone days, but it would be realistic to hold the post of Vice-President of the south Korean government which would have the "backing" of the United Nations and receive US "aid." Further, Hodge said that Syngman Rhee, an old friend of his, was waiting anxiously to shake hands with him.

The words of Hodge were a trick reeking of threat, appeasement and deception played on him with the object of selecting Syngman Rhee as the head of state.

But Kim Gyu Sik turned it down. To add to this, Kim Gu, the former "Chairman of the Democratic Assembly" and the leader of the "South Korean Independence Party", such nationalists as Choe Dong O and Cho Wan Gu and personalities of right-wing and middle-road parties and public organizations, too, declared that "We'll not dance in time to American tunes any longer," and resolutely rebuffed the US imperialists' intrigue for "separate election and separate government."

They came out in support of the proposal for establishing a united government through north-south

cooperation made to the entire people by the great sun of the nation General Kim Il Sung out of his patriotic desire.

Even "Civil Administrator" An Jae Hong, Vice-Chairman of the "Legislative Assembly" Yun Gi Sop, "Reunification Committee Department Chief" Ryu Dong Yol, Commander-in-Chief of the "Constabulary" Song Ho Song expressed their support for the north-south cooperation forces.

Only the Syngman Rhee clique followed the US imperialists' scheme for "separate election". In this situation the US imperialists sought to carry out the "separate election of May 10" by a repressive method. They formed the "Special Guard Command", ordered the US imperialist aggression army units in south Korea to stand by, and called out the police forces, terrorist organizations, planes, tanks and naval vessels, so that the whole land of south Korea was placed under martial law. Then they drove out the people to the polling stations at gun point.

The south Korean daily *Kyonghyang Sinmun* of May 12, 1948, reported about the happenings during the election. It said:

"US reconnaissance planes hovered about overhead.... Policemen and specially appointed civilians set up barricades at all important points and crossroads with the assistance of US troops, and guards were posted at the entrance of every alley.

"Civilian guards were carrying axes, base-ball bats and sticks, and the south Korean Constabulary armed themselves with US carbines.

"The atmosphere was the same as that of a city under martial law."

Syngman Rhee ran for the election at an electoral district of East Gate Ward of Seoul and was rejected by the entire consituency.

Realizing that he had no chance of being returned, the US imperialists unlawfully arrested Choe Nung Jin (chief of the Investigation Bureau of the Police Affairs Department at the time) who was also a candidate from the same electoral district, and murdered him in the dungeon. As Choe was removed, Syngman Rhee walked over the course.

By resorting to such a fraud, the US imperialists rigged up the south Korean "National Assembly" with Rhee in the chair on May 31, 1948.

In July the US Military Governor came to the Kyongmu residence (Blue House) with the draft "south Korean Constitution" worked out by the US military government and approved by the White House and told Syngman Rhee to railroad it through the "National Assembly" without amendment.

To Syngman Rhee the instructions of his US master were a law.

After that, on August 15, 1948, the US imperialists set up the "south Korean government" and made Rhee its "President".

The south Korean magazine *Chonggyong Munhwa* wrote in its April 1984 issue:

"In those days when south Korea under US military administration was going over to a separate government, Syngman Rhee was a faithful executor of the cold war policy pursued by the United States.

"That was why he became the first President with US support."

Using Syngman Rhee as their stooge, the US im-

perialists began ever more vicious and cunning neocolonialist rule over south Korea.

A Puppet Play

Giving a semblance of a sovereign state to south Korea, the US imperialists hastened to send an "ambassador" to Seoul.

One day in August 1948 John J. Muccio arrived at the house of the US "minister" at Chong-dong of Seoul as a special envoy of the US President.

The US imperialists gave instructions to highlight Muccio's arrival in Seoul and the presentation of his credentials as grand diplomatic functions.

This was followed by the farce of transferring "power" to Syngman Rhee.

On January 1, 1949, the US mission in Seoul replaced its sign with that of "embassy".

Everything Syngman Rhee did was in accordance with the "opinions" of Muccio, the first US ambassador—from choosing Chang Myon as the first south Korean "ambassador" to the United States to composing his "government" with pro-American forces by placing the pro-American elements who had been serving as interpreters with the US military government in the posts of ministers.

It was also Muccio who handed the draft south Korea-US "agreement on the transfer of finances and property" to Syngman Rhee before it was brought up for debate at the south Korean "National Assembly" and told him to ram it through.

The "agreement" stipulated the predatory claim that

south Korea promised to give possession of the property and its accessories whether they were movable or immovable, corporeal or incorporeal, in which the United States would be interested, and would concede to the United States the ownership of properties which could be acquired by mutual agreement.

Some of the "National Assemblymen" who attended the meeting walked out of the assembly hall, saying, "The content of the agreement is worse than that of the traitorous five-point treaty of 1905 (concluded by the rulers of Korea with the Japanese imperialists) in its treacherous nature. If we pass this, we may be rated as quislings more despicable than Li Wan Yong." Then they made a statement against the "agreement."

As things took this turn, Syngman Rhee summoned Finance Minister Kim Do Yon and Planning Department Chief Li Sun Taek and told them, "Say 'yes' to all US propositions. Our government has been established on the strength of the United States and will be maintained by its assistance in future, too. Now can this government ever turn down its wishes?... I hope you will consent quickly as wanted by the United States and conclude the agreement and make efforts to pass it through the National Assembly."

Later on, Kim Do Yon and LI Sun Taek admitted frankly, "We had nothing to do but fix our seal on the agreement without changing even a single word or letter of its draft drawn up by the United States."

By such methods the US imperialists cooked up the south Korea-US "tentative military agreement" on August 25, 1948, thereby taking hold of the prerogative of the south Korean "national army" and the right of control over any areas and facilities of south Korea

considered necessary by the US imperialist forces of aggression. On December 10,1948, they signed the south Korea-US "agreement on economic aid", which enabled the American monopoly capitalists to conduct business and investing operations freely in south Korea and exercise control over the issue of currency, finances and monetary affairs, budgets, foreign trade and food policy of the south Korean "government".

In this process Syngman Rhee gave full scope to his pro-American, flunkeyist disposition. Mocking his servility towards the United States, a south Korean publication wrote:

"As for Syngman Rhee, he was a pro-American personality who knew the United States better than anybody else and behaved in fact like an American citizen" and "he was more true to the cold war policy of the United States than desired by it." (The February 1982 issue of the magazine *Sindonga*.)

Reduced Position of the Stooge

The US imperialists and Syngman Rhee clique ignited the war of aggression against the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea on June 25, 1950, but they were routed and fled south under the counterblow of the heroic Korean People's Army.

As Seoul was about to fall to the attack of the People's Army, US ambassador Muccio lost no time in reporting the attitude of Syngman Rhee to his home government and asked for help while busying himself taking measures to save the situation.

The US embassy and the "government" bodies of the

Syngman Rhee clique moved to Pusan via Taejon. Even in this situation Muccio tried hard to allay the crisis consciousness of Syngman Rhee by assuring him of the possibility of returning to Seoul. He did so much as suggest to Syngman Rhee that he should contemplate taking refuge in Cheju Island or forming an exiled government.

His suggestion revived Syngman Rhee's lust for power. But the chance of satisfying his lust was scarce. This was due to the mounting anti-Rhee sentiments of the south Korean people and, at the same time, to the intensification of the struggle for power even within the "National Assembly". In particular, a large number of "National Assemblymen" could not repress their antipathy against Syngman Rhee for his cowardly act of taking to flight before others in spite of his loud clamours for "northward campaign."

Since the "President" had to be elected at the "National Assembly" in those days, Syngman Rhee's misgivings grew larger. Worse still, the Kim Song Su group, an opposition force in the "National Assembly", came out against Syngman Rhee and his company, and this further diminished the possibility of Syngman Rhee's reelection.

Poignantly feeling the necessity of mustering his group's forces within and outside the "National Assembly", Syngman Rhee formed the "Liberal Party" as the government party on December 23, 1951. But the forces of the "Liberals" in the "National Assembly" were insignificant.

Finding it impossible to turn the scale in his favour, he tried by all means to pass through the "National Assembly" a "bill of constitutional amendment" which

provided for the election of the "President" by "direct voting" rather than in the "National Assembly". This "amendment bill" was rejected by an overwhelming 143-to-16 margin.

Syngman Rhee who became more uneasy and irritated played his last card; he kicked up a big row of intimidating and blackmailing the opposition members of the "National Assembly" by mobilizing all the political organizations and terrorist gangs under his control such as the "Liberal Party", "National Association", "General Federation of Trade Unions of South Korea" and "South Korean Young Men's Association".

On May 25, 1952, he proclaimed martial law in Pusan and some other areas and took into custody 40 opposition members of the "National Assembly" who were on a commuter bus.

This preposterous and insane gangsterism aimed at prolonging his dictatorship could not evade international criticism. Even the American monthly *Christian Science Monitor* censured it as a desperate move to keep power for ever by means of intrigues and terrorism concomitant to a totalitarian police state.

The "political upheaval" of Pusan caused by Syngman Rhee's wild desire for prolonged stay in power and his reckless acts of suppression further aggravated the confusion of the south Korean "government", one of the US imperialists' tools for colonial rule, and fanned the anti-Rhee sentiments of the opposition and the people.

The colonial rule over south Korea and the aggressive war policy against north Korea which the US imperialists wanted to pursue continuously by using the Syngman Rhee clique as their cat's paw ran up against a

serious obstacle. Syngman Rhee began to be a "factor obstructive to the Far Eastern strategy" for the US imperialists. At the time the US Undersecretary of State frankly admitted that Syngman Rhee failed to act up to the will of the United States and the UN.

The thought that Syngman Rhee falls short of the mark as a lackey in the implementation of the US imperialist policy of aggression and war came to stay in the minds of the upper crust of the US State Department.

Reporting about the content of a declassified "strictly confidential document of the State Department," the June 8, 1984, number of the south Korean daily *Hanguk Ilbo* said that "In those days the distrust of the US side in Syngman Rhee grew further and the plot for getting rid of him was hatched gradually."

In fact, the plan for the removal of Syngman Rhee who became a nuisance to the carrying out of the US imperialist policy of aggression was furthered and ripened.

Urgent Confidential Telegram

On May 23, 1952 the then US "ambassador" John Muccio called on Syngman Rhee.

Saying that he was returning home for two weeks since he had questions to discuss with his home government, Muccio asked Syngman Rhee if he had any matter on which he would have liked him to consult with the US government during his stay in Washington.

Syngman Rhee spoke of various questions in an imploring tone. But in reality, Muccio gave little heed to them. He said lastly he had a question to let him know,

and spoke his mind that he himself and his "embassy" staff were not kindly regarding his prolonged stay in power. At this Syngman Rhee changed colour instantly.

Muccio's call on that day was aimed at reexamining the attitude of Syngman Rhee. On his arrival at the State Department Muccio reported about his attitude in detail. Pointing out the necessity of taking more "resolute measures" without delay in regard to incompetent Syngman Rhee, he even recommended Ho Jong and Chang Myon as the best-qualified persons to take Syngman Rhee's place after his removal. This was conveyed to US President Truman.

Thus, sacking of Syngman Rhee was determined by Truman, the State Department and Defence Department, and the framing of a concrete plan was started.

Early in June, Van Fleet, commander of the 8th US Army, flew to Pusan in great haste and reconfirmed Syngman Rhee's attitude and submitted a report about it to the Defence Department through the "UN" Command.

The bosses of the US State Department and Defence Department talked together over the report many times and finally decided to work out a "special operational plan" to remove Syngman Rhee. The task of drawing up a concrete plan of action was given to Clark in Tokyo.

It was June 25, 1952. Clark was resting at Hakone near Tokyo to cool his head even for one day; he was having a giddy head because all the military offensives designed to recover their successive defeats in the Korean war had fallen through. There he received a "confidential telegram" from the United States. With a grave look Clark read it. It said that the US Departments of State and Defence considered the political situation

caused by Syngman Rhee pointing to the possibility of two alternatives. The first alternative, it went on, is to pursue the settlement of the issue with a political countermeasure as at present without abrupt developments. The second alternative will be necessary when the situation aggravates. In this case it will be unavoidable to intervene directly so that the military operations of the UN may not be hindered. To cope with this situation, detailed political and military plans should be worked out and submitted to Washington. If these plans are leaked out, it added, the US government will find itself in a pretty fix. So, the participation of UNCURK in the framing of these plans should be restricted as far as possible.

Further, it referred to the points to be taken into consideration in drawing up the plans. They were, firstly, that the plans were subject to the approval of the US President before being put into effect, but that when a riot breaks out suddenly or in case of need for immediate action, the "UN" commander could order the implementation of the plans; secondly, that under an emergency situation which is not very critical, the "UN Commission on Korea", US "embassy", and "UN" Command demand that Syngman Rhee take appropriate measures. If this demand is ignored, the "UN" Command in compliance with the request of the UNCURK, will have to ask the US government for permission to interfere in the internal affairs of south Korea. When the US government gives permission to take action on behalf of the UNO, the "UN" Command is supposed to take necessary measures. These measures are:

a) to order the "south Korean army chief of staff" to

seize control of all armed forces including the army and police and give instructions to proclaim martial law in the Pusan area and to carry out his duties thereof;

b) to ensure that even under martial law, the ordinances of the south Korean army should leave sufficient room for the south Korean "government" to perform its functions as the symbol of "sovereignty" and take effect along the lines of quickly returning to the civil government.

This "urgent confidential telegram" is an order given to the "UN" Command to work out the plan of coup d'etat in which the south Korean army would play the leading part.

Clark called the "UN" Command's specialists on the Far Eastern problems and operations officers into the secret room and counselled together over the matter many times.

Thus, Clark's headquarters made a detailed plan of action to remove Syngman Rhee. Its gist was:

"that Syngman Rhee will be coaxed out to Seoul, and in the meantime, the south Korean army troops under the control of the UN forces will move into Pusan and seize hold of the government buildings,...Syngman Rhee will be placed under house arrest." (June 1984 issue of the south Korean magazine *Wolgan Chosun*.)

Syngman Rhee's fall was now a question of time.

But as for Ho Jong and Chang Myon who had been marked out by the US "embassy" as Presidential candidates to succeed to Syngman Rhee, their loyalty to the United States had not been sufficiently tested, and the US political circles and military were generally of the opinion that these two persons were rather week-kneed. This was something they could not afford to

ignore because the US imperialists were floundering in the mire of the aggressive war in Korea.

Meanwhile, Syngman Rhee appealed to his US masters' mercy so as to dissipate their distrust in him. He swore to take prompt measures to end the prevailing confusion and disorder, fully respect the wishes of the United States and act up to them and cause no more obstacle to the operational moves of the "UN forces".

This proved effective in making the US imperialists put off their secret operational plan. As a result, Syngman Rhee was to remain in office a little longer.

Having narrowly got over the hump of downfall Syngman Rhee now took tough measures in compliance with the desire of the United States; on July 4, 1952 he rammed through the "constitutional amendment bill" by means of open voting with the army troops and police forces surrounding the "National Assembly" building in double and treble rings and keeping sharp watch even within the assembly hall. Thus he tided over the crisis. The "constitutional amendment bill" was made after the pattern of US "Ambassador" Muccio's text.

Jenkins, a member of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency at the time, disclosed the real state of affairs in the book *The Truth of South Korea* in 1960. He said that even the rich classes were turning away from Syngman Rhee because he was incompetent and corrupt. It can be justly asserted that his "government" is one of the worst governments in world history, he pointed out. It became very clear through the political crisis of 1952 that the United States is the decisive factor in south Korea. The United States is practically the south Korean ruler.

Although he managed to stay on in office, Syngman Rhee's future was still uncertain.

The "Operations Ever Ready"

Eisenhower who won the Presidential election in November 1952 chose to expand the Korean war contrary to his "election commitment" that he would put an end to the war.

Accompanied by war bosses such as Defence Secretary Wilson, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Bradley and Commander of the US Pacific Fleet Radford, Eisenhower paid a visit to Seoul from December 2 to 5, 1952, and held counsel with UN Commander Clark, 8th US Army Commander Van Fleet and Syngman Rhee on the extension of the Korean war.

After that Eisenhower launched on the preparation for a "new offensive". But the moves for the "new offensive" were a flop from the start.

In early February 1953, Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff Bradley admitted that the US imperialists had no chance of winning the Korean war, and the commander of the mercenary British Army in Korea, too, said that the "UN forces" were powerless to win the Korean war.

The New York Times lamented that all paths laying ahead of the United States were dangerous and that there was no sure guarantee of its victory.

Finding themselves in the soup, the US imperialists were obliged to agree to resume the truce talks suspended for more than six months since October 1952. But in fact, they did not want to bring about ceasefire in

Korea. They began to drag out time deliberately by putting obstacles in the way of discussion at the Panmunjom talks, and egged the south Korean "government" on to raise a dust taking the stance of "dead set against truce." They did so much as incite Syngman Rhee to clamour for "single-handed northward campaign". They foolishly wanted to spoil in this way the already gained results of the truce talks and expand the war of aggression in Korea.

Now the US imperialists brought up again the question of removing Syngman Rhee from the office of "Presidency" in case the south Korean army should kick against the instructions of the "UN forces," in case it should waver or take an irresolute attitude, and in case the south Korean "government" should cause impediments to the operations of the "UN forces."

On secret instructions from the Departments of State and Defence, "UN" Commander Clark and US Army Chief of Staff Collins conferred behind closed doors in Tokyo in April 1953, where they were agreed to detain Syngman Rhee by way of precaution against the aforesaid cases and then establish an "interim government". They decided to call this coup d'etat by the code name of "Operations Ever Ready".

The content of the plan for the "Operations Ever Ready" was, in the first case, that the US intelligence corps will tighten control over the south Korean government and army and that US army division A will issue emergency mobilization orders to the task force to maintain security in the Seoul area and on the Seoul-Taejon railway section. US army division C will get ready for action to maintain security in Pusan and Taegu, and First US Army Corps will stand by to ensure

security in the Uijongbu area, Ninth US Army Corps—the Chunchon area, Tenth US Army Corps—the Wonju area, and emergency mobilization orders will be issued to the commanders of the air and naval forces, too.

In the second case, the plan envisaged reexamination of military and economic measures, redisposition of the south Korean army or its disarmament depending on the seriousness of the situation concerned.

And as corresponding steps, it was proposed to summon the south Korean army chief of staff and urge him to carry out the orders;

to suspend military support to the army units disloyal to the United States and take away from them the weapons already supplied;

and to cut off communications between the discontented units and the "government"

This second plan of the "Operations Ever Ready" was virtually a "plan of coup by the outside forces" to establish a military government in the name of the United Nations, so that new pro-American civilians and military men would take power into their hands.

This plan of "Operations Ever Ready" worked out by UN Commander Clark and US Army Chief of Staff Collins was considered at the US National Security Council and approved by the US President.

The downfall of Syngman Rhee was in the offing once more. His behaviour would decide whether the plan of "Operations Ever Ready" would be put into effect or not. In order to avoid his own ruin, Syngman Rhee clamoured more noisily for "all-out opposition to ceasefire" in pursuance of his US master's intentions and desperately took the lead in carrying out the

hazardous intrigues for expanding the war by supplying more cannon fodder.

Exercising more strict control over Syngman Rhee, the US imperialists deferred the implementation of the plan in a wait-and-see attitude.

It is not surprising in the least that the US imperialists tried twice to oust Syngman Rhee without hesitation early in the 1950's. It is their hackneyed way in colonial rule to remove whoever in power is not to their liking even to the slightest degree.

When the "confidential diplomatic documents" of the US Department of State were opened to the public and the aforesaid fact was revealed to the world, the south Korean newspaper *Chungang Ilbo* of June 8, 1984, pointed out that the fate of Syngman Rhee was entirely in the hands of the United states, calling the plans for kicking him out "abortive plans of coup".

The future of Syngman Rhee was as precarious as sitting on a barrel of gunpowder.

Rotten Politics

Although the US imperialists suffered an ignominious defeat in the Korean war, they continued to pursue the war policy after the war. Accordingly, they keenly needed to turn the whole of south Korea into a military base and establish one-man fascist dictatorship. The south Korean people's hatred and resistance to the Syngman Rhee "government" which was no more than a tool for carrying out the US policy of aggression and war mounted further and conflicts and friction within the ruling circles grew more acute.

The US imperialists were worried that Syngman Rhee who pledged allegiance to them was thrown into utmost political isolation and that the existence of the south Korean "government" was in peril.

Under the existing "Constitution" the "President" was precluded from staying in office for more than two terms. Therefore, if Syngman Rhee was to remain in his post any longer, the "Constitution" had to be revised to allow presidential election for the third term. In order to amend the "Constitution" it was essential to whip together a majority force supporting it in the "National Assembly".

The US imperialists instigated Syngman Rhee who was seized with an acute sense of crisis to resort to every possible means and ways to save his "government" from the crisis and to turn it into a more despotic dictatorship "government".

Egged on by the US imperialists, Syngman Rhee stepped up open terrorism and intimidation against the opposition and independent "candidates" and crossed out their registrations as "candidates" on the eve of the third election to the "House of Representatives" scheduled to take place on May 20, 1954. Even in the "Liberal Party" then in power a "system of recognized candidacy" was established to recommend for "candidacy" only those who were in favour of the "constitutional amendment." Then the "election" was held in a fearful atmosphere ridden with "martial law" and terrorism, in which votes were cast in bundles.

This was how Syngman Rhee managed to fill two-thirds of the seats in the "National Assembly" with his followers. But his "constitutional amendment bill" was rejected by one vote in the "National Assembly".

Nevertheless, he rushed it through by the method of rounding to the nearest whole number.

This second "constitutional amendment" farce staged by US imperialism was aimed at strengthening their neocolonial rule over south Korea by establishing the one-man dictatorship of Syngman Rhee. However, this aim was hard to be realized as the fighting moves of the south Korean people against US imperialism and Syngman Rhee increased.

The emergence of the Progressive Party in December 1955 and its vigorous activities were striking proof that the moves of the south Korean people for the peaceful reunification of the country and against the fascist colonial rule of the US imperialists and their stooges were mounting rapidly. This became more apparent during the "election of President and Vice-President" in 1956. Although the US imperialists egged Syngman Rhee who was isolated and denounced from within and without on to take strong measures wickedly, he won only 52 per cent of the "votes" across the country, and in Seoul, North and South Kyongsang Provinces and North and South Cholla Provinces, 70-80 per cent of votes were cast against him.

In contrast, Cho Bong Am who ran for the "election" on the "Progressive" ticket under the programme of peaceful reunification gained, even in the extremely adverse conditions, more than two million votes which were a bit less than the votes Syngman Rhee won by fabrication.

Besides, Cho Bong Am pulled over three times more votes than Syngman Rhee in Taejon, and twice more in the 17 areas including Chonju, Chinju and Kimhae.

Commenting on the results of the "election", the

American monthly *Christian Science Monitor* reported that mass rejection in the "presidential election" was a reflection of growing demand of the south Korean people for the change of government.

The US imperialists who closed the curtain over the "election" with the "election" of Syngman Rhee, disbanded the "Progressive Party" and murdered its President Cho Bong Am because they regarded the existence of the party as an obstacle to their fascist colonial rule.

Crisis

Syngman Rhee who wanted the "Liberal Party" to stay on in power for a long period cooked up the "election law for the House of Representatives" in January 1958 and tried to fill the seats of the "National Assembly" with his followers, but it did not turn out as he wished.

As the situation turned to his disfavour, Syngman Rhee sent some 300 policemen to raid the "National Assembly" building on December 24, 1958, who kicked and beat the opposition members and locked them up in the cellar and then framed up such an evil law as "New National Security Law".

This is called the "24th political upheaval".

The "New National Security Law" ordained the objects and methods of suppression most viciously, its tenor being to sentence to death or life imprisonment all those who were disagreeable to the US imperialists and their stooges on charges of "espionage".

The "New National Security Law" was an un-

precedentedly evil law; instead of strengthening the fascist dictatorship of Syngman Rhee, it invoked the indignation of the south Korean people.

Even in the "National Army" that was the last stronghold of Syngman Rhee, the trends of anti-dictatorship and anti-Syngman Rhee mounted as never before.

Just before the law went into force, more than 300 men of the south Korean army who harboured ill feelings towards Syngman Rhee marched to the Presidential residence in Seoul, but they were checked at the Nam Gate. Some time later an incident occurred in which the Presidential residence was encircled by another batch of soldiers of the south Korean army who were discontented.

Thus, Syngman Rhee's underhand plots for fascist repression resulted in further aggravation of the political crisis of the south Korean "government".

According to a report compiled by Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the US imperialists were unable to conceal their anxiety over the political situation in south Korea where resistance and indignation were widespread among broad sections of the people including the younger generation, a considerable part of the older generation, and the military, and so they might be exploded at any moment, and the outcome of elections in the future would not be predicted if they were held fair and aboveboard.

Upset by the crisis in south Korea, the US imperialists made desperate efforts to reverse the situation by all means.

The US President, State Secretary and the leaders of

the Congress summoned the US "ambassador" to south Korea to Washington and held conferences in camera to save the uneasy situation in south Korea.

After that, they dispatched the chairman of the US Military Aid Planning Committee and the deputy director of the Asia Bureau of the State Department to Seoul to take measures to straighten out the political situation in south Korea.

No good idea occurred to Syngman Rhee. Things went from bad to worse. In this situation the high-ranking officials of the US government openly expressed their distrust in Syngman Rhee. They voiced an opinion that if party politics fails to work, it must be replaced by soldier politics.

In the summer of 1959 when the US imperialists were worried about the future of the Syngman Rhee "government", US President Eisenhower sent to Seoul a Republican House member who was intimate with him. Prior to departure from the United States, this man met the Secretary of State.

Upon arrival in Seoul, he had a long talk with Syngman Rhee behind closed doors at the "Presidential residence". He warned Syngman Rhee that the political situation in south Korea induced the United States to feel doubt as to his ruling ability. At this, Syngman Rhee realized that he had forfeited the "confidence" of his master.

Syngman Rhee was felt uneasy and desperately started on fascist repression on the ground that "the existence of the government is at stake." On the other hand, he furtively made preparations for his fraudulent return for the "fourth term" in the "presidential and vice-presidential election" scheduled for March 1960.

He gave secret instructions to the Internal Security Bureau" with a view to framing illegal "election" and even dispatched "secret police supervisory teams" to all areas. On the voting day, March 15, in accordance with the "general plan of measures for election" all the polling stations were encircled by policemen and terrorists and MPs were ordered to patrol the streets to look out for all the activities of the people. Free fabrication of the "polling score" was allowed by the official counting of votes.

The then US ambassador was informed of every process of the election and manipulated it from behind the scene. The US imperialists schemed to maintain the crisis-ridden colonial rule in south Korea by such a shameful "election" fraud. But this dirty "election" swindle eventually touched off the smouldering resentment and indignation of the south Korean people against US imperialism and the Syngman Rhee clique.

The first flames of mass struggle flared up in Masan and Seoul. The valiant struggle of more than 4,000 students of Koryo University who sent over to street demonstration on April 18 shouting "Away with Syngman Rhee!" "Away with corrupt politics!" opened up a breach for the mass onslaught in Seoul.

As time went on, flames of demonstration struggle spread wider among various sections of the people.

On April 19 more than 10,000 students of various colleges and universities including the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the Law College of Seoul University and citizens assaulted the "National Assembly Building", "Presidential residence" and "Capitol Building", braving the tear-gas shells shot by the puppet police, and lowered the "ROK flag" from the

top of the "Capitol Building" to trample underfoot.

The demonstrators also attacked the "Office of the US Economic Cooperation Administration" which was on-the-spot aggression agency.

The April 19 Popular Uprising which broke out in Seoul, Pusan and Kwangju with the revolt in Masan as the starting signal exerted great influence on the people of south Korea and eventually the struggle spread swiftly to all parts of south Korea.

The April 19 Popular Uprising laid bare the corruptness of fascist Syngman Rhee dictatorship and shook the colonial rule of US imperialism to its foundation.

An Ultimatum

The US imperialists who had been closely following the developments in south Korea summoned the south Korean ambassador and called him to account for the blunder of the illegal "election" and then sent a "memorandum" to the south Korean "government" that the election was quite improper for a free nation. This was playing innocent.

Meanwhile, in order to smother the surging anti-"government" trends in south Korea, the US imperialists made their stooges resort to brutal suppression, but it could neither frighten the people who rose in revolt, nor save the situation. The US imperialists thought that they could no longer delay the removal of Syngman Rhee who was now useless in prolonging their colonial rule in south Korea. Commenting on this, the March 1983 issue of the south Korean magazine *Sindonga* wrote:

"As the nation's discontent with the Liberal govern-

ment reached the boiling point, the US had to reconsider its support to Rhee's 'government' ".

Thus the US ambassador to Seoul and commander of the US aggression army in south Korea were ordered to swiftly bring about the "resignation" of Syngman Rhee.

The US ambassador met Syngman Rhee around 9 o'clock in the evening, that is four hours after he received special instructions from the State Department.

As instructed by his home government, the US ambassador urged Syngman Rhee to make a correct judgment of the situation and take actions, and ended by informing him that the US was considering its support to the present government.

A few hours after that, the US State Secretary issued a statement, which expressed "concern" and what not about the situation in south Korea and said that the United States could not but pay attention to it. The American ambassador who paid a visit to the Presidential residence for the second time handed him a note demanding his "resignation". Seeing which way the wind was blowing, Syngman Rhee resigned from the post of the president of the "Liberal Party". This marked the fall of the "Liberal Party" that had acted for eight years as the prop of Syngman Rhee's power.

On the morning of April 26 the US ambassador appeared at the Presidential residence for the third time with the UN Commander. He handed to Syngman Rhee a "statement on retirement" prepared in advance.

In the presence of the two Americans, Syngman Rhee read the statement over the microphone in the "publicity room". This put an end to the "government" of Syngman Rhee who had been trained by US imperialism for 40 years and served it as its colonial stooge for

more than 10 years in the office of "President".

The flunkeyist-traitor Syngman Rhee selected by US imperialism as its cat's-paw was thus forsaken by it and expelled miserably from the position of power.

The April 1983 number of the south Korean magazine *Chonggyong Munhwa* said that the United States controlled the destiny of Syngman Rhee from the first to the end.

2. The Dictator Who Was Sent to His Grave

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"As for the south Korean authorities, they are either people who have been trained by the 'US Central Intelligence Agency' or people who served as officers in the Japanese army when we were fighting against Japanese imperialism." (*Answers to the Questions Raised by Foreign Journalists,* English ed., Vol. 2, p. 154.)

Under the Aegis of His Master

One day in the mid-May of 1946 an American landing craft *LST* cast anchor quietly in the Inchon port. Over ten men in civilian clothes landed. Among them was Park Jung Hee. He went ashore stealthily as if fearing public notice.

This was how he set foot on the soil of south Korea six years after he had left for the Japanese military academy in Changchun, Manchuria.

The US intelligence agency which had already stretched its wicked tentacles to China with the object of aggression, subversion and espionage in Asia took on the former Japanese army officer Park Jung Hee who

was roaming about North China after the defeat of Japanese imperialism.

His services rendered to his Japanese imperialist lords as an "extraordinarily loyal Japanese" from his military academy days, his unusually strong careerism, love of gain and other qualities satisfied the US intelligence organization. So, the US intelligence agency listed him as a useful person and brought him to south Korea aboard the US landing craft.

Park Jung Hee entered the "Military Academy of the National Constabulary" on the recommendation of the US army intelligence corps in September 1946. The military academy was a cannon-fodder manufacturing plant designed to train the personnel who would form the backbone of the colonial mercenary army to be organized in south Korea by the US imperialists.

After going through three months' military training, Park Jung Hee served with the "Constabulary" as operations staff officer in the 8th Regiment, staff officer at the operations department of the "army" headquarters, and then as "tactics instructor of the military academy". Concealing his true colours skilfully, he acted as a secret agent informing against the patriotic-minded officers and men on the directions of the US secret service. His "tact" as spy pleased the US intelligence agency.

The US imperialists paired him with a woman secret agent who had already been tested in order to use him entirely as a secret agent of the US army intelligence corps. This was common practice employed by intelligence agencies. Park Jung Hee divorced his first wife and married Ryuk Yong Su, a secret agent of the US intelligence agency.

The Secret Agent in Disguise

On October 20, 1948, the uprising of the patriotic-minded soldiers broke out in the port town Ryosu on the south coast of south Korea. When the entire regiment fell in at the emergency call of the bugle and signal firing, a commanding officer stepped out in front of the ranks and called on the men never to level their guns at the parents and brothers in Cheju Island who raised the torch of armed resistance and to rise against the US imperialists and their minions who were sending them out fratricide.

The soldiers of the "14th Regiment" who rose in revolt immediately disposed of several wicked officers and seized the armory. The 3,000 armed troops immediately occupied Ryosu and Sunchon. The soldiers of the 4th Regiment of the puppet army in Kwangju and the 6th Regiment in Masan joined them.

Flabbergasted, the US imperialists called out even planes and tanks on the plea of suppressing the mutiny and murdered over 6,000 inhabitants and burned down over 5,000 houses.

Availing themselves of this opportunity, the US imperialists schemed to seek out and punish all the patriotic-minded officers and men within the army by using the secret agents planted in it. Secret instructions about this were given to Park Jung Hee who was acting as a secret agent of US intelligence agency in the guise of the "operations staff officer of the Honam District Command." Taking this as a good chance for demonstrating his "loyalty" to the US imperialists, Park

Jung Hee listed and informed against all the officers and men who showed the slightest anti-US tendency, let alone the revolutionary organizations and patriotic-minded soldiers in the army.

According to the information offered by Park Jung Hee, the US imperialists launched large-scale "punitive operations" against the insurgent troops and arrested, imprisoned and killed over 1,650 patriotic-minded officers and men in the army.

Chae Byong Dok, the then south Korean army chief of staff, reported to Roberts, head of the US Military Advisory Group in south Korea, "No one can tell how the mutiny of Ryosu may have developed if it were not for Park Jung Hee. He is one of the unknown men who have done distinguished service to a new-born south Korea."

The bosses of the reactionary US government and the brass hats of the army decided to keep Park Jung Hee as secret agent in disguise with the intention of using him in case of need in the future. Park Jung Hee was "arrested" and "tried" in accordance with the libretto of the US intelligence agency. Meanwhile, Ryuk Yong Su played the farce of lobbying for the "release of her husband". Park Jung Hee was let out on bail.

But they could not deceive people by this farce.

For fear that the true colours of Park Jung Hee should be revealed, the US imperialists made him change into civilian clothes and placed him on the reserve list. Some time later, however, he again wore military uniform with the US imperialists' backing, and was appointed "commander of the Special Service Corps" and then "division commander". Then in collusion with Provost Marshal Kim Chang Ryong, he committed the atrocity of

murdering numerous patriots and innocent inhabitants. This earned him great confidence of his masters.

With a view to using Park Jung Hee in time of need, they sent him to the artillery school in Oklahoma State, United States, and trained him to be a faithful "US worshipper".

Mastermind of the "Coup D' etat"

The US imperialists rigged up a "government" in south Korea and pursued neo-colonial policy, but things did not go off as they expected.

While Park Jung Hee was climbing swiftly the ladder of success from the post of "director of the infantry school" to the "commander of the Pusan logistic base" via the positions of "commander of the 5th Division", "chief of staff of 1st Army Corps Command" and "commander of 6th Military District", the crisis in the US imperialists' colonial rule in south Korea worsened with each passing day. In the two years of 1960 and 1961, there were changes of "government" three times in conformity to the US directives.

Following the collapse of the Syngman Rhee "government" by April 19 Popular Uprising, the aspirations of the south Korean people after the peaceful reunification of the country rose high as the days went by.

The south Korean youth, students and people who rose in the struggle for freedom, democracy and the right to existence shouted the slogan, "Let's go to the north, come to the south. Let's meet at Panmunjom!" They came out to materialize the slogan, firmly con-

vinced that national reunification was the only way out.

It was the US imperialist aggressors who got flurried more than anyone else by the political chaos in the south Korean ruling circles, the ever-mounting patriotic struggle of the people and the ardent aspirations of the south Korean people after national reunification. Thus, the question of replacement of the south Korean "government" was taken up seriously by the US ruling circles.

Already in 1958 Robert A. Scaripino who professed himself to be an American expert of the Far Eastern affairs proposed to replace the Syngman Rhee "government" with a "military government" in south Korea. Even after that, voices were often raised for the need of a "military government" by high-ranking officials of the US Department of State and CIA.

Kennedy who took office as President in January 1961 discussed this question with his subordinates. Then Reischauer (the then US ambassador to Japan) who had great influence in the Kennedy Administration asserted that young armymen who had been trained on the battlefields were entitled to take over the future of Korea.

An American economic commentator insisted that only a right-wing dictatorial regime could be entrusted with government in south Korea.

The US bosses agreed that Park Jung Hee was the person capable of representing a "military government" or "politics by soldiers" in south Korea.

It is only natural that Park Jung Hee should have been marked out by the CIA which had an intimate knowledge of the trends and mood of the personalities in the political and military circles of south Korea through the

intelligence networks spread among them. In fact, Park Jung Hee was a secret agent who worked on the quiet on the directives of the US intelligence corps in south Korea from long ago and had already been confirmed as a "100 per cent anti-communist and out-and-out pro-American."

Thus Park Jung Hee won great "confidence" of the US imperialists and came to play the leading part in the farce of the "government" change.

The Third Hint

The CIA of the United States was engaged in plots against governments, subversion and assassination in different parts of the world. In this course, it tasted the bitters of failure more than once. So it went about the "military coup" in south Korea under a detailed and cautious plan from the beginning. According to this plan, Park Jung Hee was called away by the US imperialists to the Okinawa base in Japan early in 1961. The US imperialists gave him a course of lectures and training in the tricks of coup d'etat. This was testified by the Japanese weekly *Shukan Gendai* of January 16, 1962 in pointing out that on the eve of the military coup in south Korea the US imperialists summoned Japanese and south Korean military leaders and gave them a course of lectures on coup d'etat.

Candidates for participation in the "military coup" were chosen from among the graduates of the 8th class of the Military Academy. Most of them had "distinguished themselves" in murdering people as members of the "Young Men's Association from the

Northwest" and other reactionary organizations before enlistment and desperately fought the Korean People's Army during the war as junior officers of the "south Korean army".

Afterwards the 8th class graduates of the military academy who survived the war mostly received education in US worship and anti-communist training directly from their American masters in the US infantry school. In those days most of them were batallion commanders or staff officers best suited to command troops directly. Greedy for career, they were ready to take any risk.

The US imperialists pushed ahead in earnest with their plot for military coup in south Korea which had been brewed in secrecy. The chief of the CIA in Seoul and the intelligence chief of the 8th US Army Command were ordered to direct the "military coup" on the spot. Through them the US imperialists gave Park Jung Hee the first mandate for carrying out the "military coup" in April 1961. On April 11 Park Jung Hee got his followers together at a secret rendezvous in Taegu and decided on the following points:

Firstly, to act on April 19;

Second, to proclaim "emergency martial law" immediately after the seizure of Seoul;

Third, to shoot to death those who resist.

In conclusion, Park Jung Hee stressed that the decision should not leak out.

The US imperialists named April 19 for the date of action because they believed that an anti-"government" struggle would take place on the first anniversary of the April 19 Popular Uprising as in the previous year, and assumed that Park Jung Hee could

undertake "coup d'etat" by taking advantage of suppression of demonstrations by the "government".

With this in view, they reinforced the "6th Military District" to be called out for the suppression of demonstrations beforehand, and had Kim Jae Chun and Pak Won Min appointed chief of staff and operations staff officer of this Military District respectively to mastermind the "military coup" and Park Jung Hee" "deputy commander" of the "2nd Army" which would have the "6th Military District Command" under it.

Recalling the steady progress of the US-manipulated plot of the "military coup", Kim Jong Pil said:

"We decided to carry out the plan of operations for the military coup by availing ourselves of the plan for the suppression of riot, and discussed the details of our plan. In this way we saw to it that all was right in the preparations for the mobilization of army units, that the necessary equipment for the action was provided and that even the terrain of the zones to be occupied was studied beforehand on the occasion."

Preparations for the coup were made and carried on carefully, but the day of April 19 scheduled for action passed so quietly. Contrary to their expectation, there was no demonstration.

Park Jung Hee and the troops intended for "coup d'etat" that were to move into Seoul on the plan of suppression of riot were not called out. The date of coup d'etat was put off of its own accord.

The chief of the CIA's Seoul branch and the 8th US Army Command intelligence chief waited from the early morning of April 19 for the reports about the mobilization of Park Jung Hee's military coup troops. But no

word came until near noon. They feared uneasily if the "military coup" plot fizzled out. A heavy gloom fell over the US embassy in Seoul and the 8th US Army Command.

Later the US imperialists again instructed Park Jung Hee to fix the date of coup d'etat on May 12. But this plan was not carried out that day, too. This was because one of the conspirators blurted out the scheduled date of action in a bus of the army headquarters running from Inchon to Seoul on April 21.

After this, the US charge d'affaires and the commander of the US aggressor army instructed Park Jung Hee to fix the date of military coup on May 16.

Two days before "taking the action", Park Jung Hee called together over 40 officers of the action forces at a secret rendezvous in Yaksu-dong of Seoul and discussed with them the details of the "military coup" plan from combat formation to the issue of different proclamations. Although the plot of military coup was now almost out, the coup d'etat forces were able to act without meeting any resistance. Because they had the active backing of the US imperialists.

The Day of Crime

The days following the US imperialists' illegal occupation of south Korea witnessed aggression, plunder, subversion, robbery, murder, plot and other crimes committed in succession.

The night of May 15, 1961, wore on brewing crimes. Park Jung Hee left home towards midnight, telling Ryuk Yong Su to listen to the newscast the next morning.

In the quiet deep of the night, the US aggressor army commander rang up the US charge d'affaires on Sejong Street. The charge d'affaires who was sitting at the desk till then took up the receiver. Somewhat excited voice came over the line.

"It's time shots rang out."

The charge d'affaires glanced at the watch. The set time was approaching. On May 16, 1961, at 3:30 a.m. over 1,500 troops of the "6th Military District" began to move into Seoul on tanks and trucks.

The policemen on the bridge over the Han River who were dozing hurriedly came out to the middle of the road and waved their hands giving a warning whistle.

The soldiers aboard the leading tank fired at them mercilessly. Six policemen fell down on the spot. Firing continued sporadically.

The tanks moved into the heart of the city, leaving behind a small number of troops to neutralize police stations and substations and arrest the "ministers" of the Chang Myon "government".

The coup d'etat forces occupied the "Capitol Building" and "Ministry of National Defence" without meeting any resistance. The day of crime, May 16, dawned.

The radio announced the first news that the coup d'etat troops "took hold of the three powers of administration, legislation and judicature." This news surprised the citizens of Seoul who were awakened earlier than usual by the shots and thumps of combat boots and were watching the situation outside.

The US-manipulated "military coup" took place in a few hours. "Emergency martial law" was announced under Proclamation No. 1 at 9 o'clock in the morning.

The gist was: that all sorts of meetings are banned; no one is allowed to leave the country; the press is subject to pre-censorship; curfew is imposed from 7 p.m. to 5 a.m.; all political activities of parties and social organizations are banned; the "National Assembly" is dissolved and "Ministers of State" are detained; and those who violate these terms are subject to immediate capital punishment whatever the reason may be. Eight similar "proclamations" were issued that day.

Immediately horrible manhunt started.

Those who showed the slightest sign of disapproval for the coup began to be arrested indiscriminately, to say nothing of patriots and progressive personalities. All this was what the US imperialists had wished.

The Mask Was Dropped

When the plot of "military coup" went off "successfully" as planned in south Korea, the US imperialists played innocent as if they had nothing to do with it.

The US army commander who did wirepulling on the spot feigned ignorance and said, "I express my sincere regret for the south Korean situation", and the US charge d'affaires pretended not to have known it and remarked, "The United States is opposed to the coup d'etat," and "I would like to make it clear that the United States supports the Democratic government."

They made these cunning remarks on President Kennedy's instructions to make believe that they supported Chang Myon's "government" in case of "coup d'etat". As their statements of support for the south

Korean government were broadcast only abroad, the south Korean people knew nothing of them.

The United States resorted to every mean and cunning artifice to cover up its true colours as the wirepuller of the "military coup".

Their farce did not hold out for long. Chang Myon's "Cabinet" resigned in a body on May 18 despite the US imperialists' loud-mouthed cries of support. Expelled from premiership, Chang Myon was placed under a house arrest, and then he disappeared from the political arena for ever.

President Kennedy sent Park Jung Hee a letter which expressed support for the "military coup". The next day US Secretary of State Rusk issued a statement in which he praised Park Jung Hee for his commitment to be "faithful" to US imperialism.

Some time later Kennedy's special envoy James Van Fleet met Park Jung Hee and encouraged him, saying: "Go about your work with confidence. In south Korea democratic government is premature. The United States supports you."

At the same time, the US press launched a big propaganda campaign in support of the military coup to encourage and extol the Park Jung Hee clique.

On July 2 when the true colours of US imperialism as wirepuller of the military coup were disclosed clearly, the United States placed Park Jung Hee at the post of chairman of the so-called "Supreme Assembly for National Reconstruction" and announced that it would continue to give aid to south Korea for national reconstruction. Then, Kennedy called Park Jung Hee to Washington and expressed his "support" again.

The "military coup" in which Park Jung Hee was

made to play the leading part trampled underfoot all the gains obtained at the cost of the blood of participants in the April 19 Popular Uprising. It opened up a dark new chapter of military fascist rule.

Nevertheless the US imperialists tried to present the "May 16 military coup" as having some "signs of positive change" in south Korea.

On May 16, 1962 "festooned tramcars" never known before appeared on the streets of Seoul to build up the "festive" atmosphere. So the US imperialists tried to cover up their true character as the mastermind of the "military coup" by the infantile popularity-earning gambit. However, it could hardly deceive any one.

Some occurrences before and after the "May 16 coup" laid bare the true face of US imperialism that staged the farce "government" change in south Korea.

Smelling the suspicious conduct of Park Jung Hee and his followers in the army who were secretly consulting together many times, Li Jong Chan, "Minister of National Defence" in Ho Jong's "interim government", reported about it to the US aggressor army command and suggested taking necessary measures. However, the US army command warned him not to touch those officers who were plotting for a "military coup". So the Park Jung Hee clique stepped up the preparations for the coup under the US imperialists' aegis. In fact, this was almost an open secret, and the progress of the preparations was reported to the United States.

Such being the situation, the possibility of "military coup" was not a secret for many persons of the political and military quarters in south Korea.

When Park Jung Hee accompanied by a few coup

d'etat troops visited the "Blue House" on the morning of May 16, it is said that "President" Yun Bo Son, after a long gaze at them, remarked, "What is to come has come at last."

In fact, it was too transparent an artifice that the US imperialists expressed their surprise at the "military coup" and said it was an unexpected happening.

Present in south Korea is tens of thousand strong US aggressor army. The slightest moves of people are watched by the CIA agents installed in the political and military circles, the US army commander holds the prerogative of operational command. It is plain to all that under such circumstances thousands of troops can never be moved without his approval. So, only with the US imperialists' approval could Park Jung Hee call troops for the "military coup" and carry it out successfully.

Concerning this, a French critic wrote:

"History knows no instance of such a bloodless military coup which was brought to speedy success by only a small force of young armymen. ... The question becomes rather delicate when it is taken into account that the United States has so far more government and military organizations in south Korea than in any other country. This is all the more so in view of the fact that the United States is on closer terms with young officers of south Korea who played the major part in the recent military coup than with the officers of any other country."

It is an indisputable fact that the US army commander handed over large troops to Park Jung Hee and gave orders to go into action and steered him on the spot.

The former "army chief of staff" Chang Do Yong

admitted at the second trial for the "case of mutiny in the army" held after the May 16 coup d'etat, "I showed a passive attitude to the military coup when the US embassy gave me instructions to cooperate with Park Jung Hee in his military coup."

The fact that the "military coup" farce in south Korea was authored by the US imperialists and that Park Jung Hee merely played the leading part in it became more evident when the former CIA director John Allen Dulles said in his retirement speech on May 23, 1964, "The greatest success in the overseas operations of the CIA during my service was the military coup in south Korea."

The Midwife for Fascist Dictatorship

The US imperialists who staged the "military coup" in south Korea now made Park Jung Hee play the farce of "transfer to civil administration".

They did so because only when Park Jung Hee got out of military uniform would they be able to avoid the south Korean people's criticism of the military coup and make use of Park Jung Hee more effectively.

In obedience to the dictate of his US masters, Park Jung Hee took off his military uniform in "tears" at the "ceremony of going into the reserve" held at the base of the 5th Army Corps near the Military Demarcation Line on August 30, 1963 as a fake for "entering on civil administration." His "tears" were a screen to conceal the dagger and evil designs. Park Jung Hee had positively "promised" not to take part in civil administration, but in less than a month he went back on his promise and appeared on the arena to "take part in civil

administration." The US imperialists who made him change into civil clothes installed him at the post of "President" on December 17, 1963.

As soon as he became head of the south Korean "government", Park Jung Hee revealed his ulterior intentions again by saying, "The United States and us are most intimate friendly nations and are inseparably linked with each other in a community of fate", "Strengthening the military and political ties with the United States and other countries of the free camp is the only way of survival for nation," or "We are ready to do anything if it is for the United States".

Although under US patronage, he became the head of the "Blue House", he felt uneasy and qualmish at the back of his heart.

The reminiscences of a Kang who had been in the same class with Park Jung Hee at the Taegu Normal School show how uneasy he was in those days. Kang said:

"Visiting the Blue House, I found the President tipsy after drinking two bottles of rice wine alone.

"After some time he took me by the hand and, blinking his eyes, said, 'My good friend, I'm bitterly criticized. When I sent out inspectors to the provinces, the local authorities are already wise to it; they are promptly informed of it, I don't know how. I'll give you travel expenses, so please go about all places and find out what people say against me and let me know it.' In a word, he wanted me to be his secret inspector-general." (The May 1984 issue of the monthly *Wolgan Chosun*.)

Those who assumed power against the people's will with the backing of outside forces tremble with fear without exception.

The US imperialists egged Park Jung Hee on to the criminal act of selling out his country and people.

At his US masters' bidding Park Jung Hee brought the "south Korea-Japan talks" to a conclusion and opened up the way for the Japanese militarists' comeback to south Korea, "sent" hundreds of thousands of troops by deceiving the south Korean people, to the aggressive war launched by the US imperialists in Viet Nam as bullet-shields for American soldiers, and committed other criminal acts.

The treacherous acts of Park Jung Hee who did everything in the interests of the US imperialists fired south Korean people's discontent with the military fascist "government". This presented a menace to the colonial fascist rule of the US imperialists and their stooges.

On October 17, 1972, Park Jung Hee hastily proclaimed "emergency martial law" all over south Korea. He dissolved the "National Assembly", banned activities of political parties and then proclaimed a new "constitution". Behind the "Yushin Constitution" farce were the US imperialist manoeuvrings.

Previous to this, in March that year, US Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green visited south Korea as the special envoy of President Nixon. Staying in the US embassy in south Korea for several months, he visited the "Blue House" and the "Capitol Building" many times.

He flew to south Korea on the instructions of the CIA and with the object of keeping Park Jung Hee in the office of the south Korean "President".

According to the Japanese magazine *Sekai*, before Marshall Green's visit to south Korea, the CIA sug-

gested to Nixon that for the maintenance of Park Jung Hee's "government" it was necessary to enact a "law" which would guarantee his election to the "Presidency" and that this question could be handled skilfully by the Department of State.

The suggestions of the CIA were based on the assessment that Park Jung Hee was the very person capable of ruthlessly stamping out the trend to reunification which was growing quickly due to the north-south dialogue and the anti-"government" moves and of working with devotion for the implementation of the US policy on Korea. But in those days Park Jung Hee was rebuffed and isolated at home and abroad, and so there was no guarantee for his continued stay in the "Presidential" office.

Regarding Park Jung Hee as fit for prolonged use, the CIA resorted to every possible trick to keep him at the post of "President". The "revision of constitution" in 1962 which replaced the President-unitarian system with the President-centred system and that in 1969 which provided for "three terms of office" of the "President" are the outcome of the plot of the CIA.

The CIA cooked up Park Jung Hee's "election" through cheating, fraudulence, threat and blackmail each time he ran for "Presidential election". However, for all these shameless acts, the CIA thought it difficult to keep him continuously in the Presidential office without a radical reform.

Marshall Green who came to south Korea as Nixon's emissary repeatedly consulted together with US "ambassador", commander of the US aggressor army, and chief of the CIA office in Seoul.

After consultation they agreed upon instituting some

sort of submissive body to elect "President", so that Park Jung Hee would remain in office indefinitely. Marshall Green requested Nixon to send relevant scholars of constitutions. Nixon immediately sent Harvard University professor Anderson and New York University professor Frez to south Korea to help revise the south Korean "constitution" to suit Park Jung Hee's one-man fascist dictatorship.

Thus, the US imperialists invested Park Jung Hee with rights and allowed him to ignore any "bill" adopted by the "National Assembly" when they go against his grain. They completely subordinated the court of justice to Park Jung Hee on the plea of "President responsibility system" and invested him with the right to appoint and dismiss the "chief justice and judges". Moreover, the US imperialists enabled Park Jung Hee to set up "Yushin (revitalized) system" and make the "Autonomous National Congress for Unification", a tool of dictatorship, whose members are appointed by himself, its chairman, elect him President and extend the Presidential term of office as he pleased to become "life President".

History witnessed absolute monarchs in the dark Middle Ages who declared that they were immediately the "state", labelled Hitler and Mussolini as dictators in Europe and recorded Tojo as the military dictator in Asia.

However, the "Revitalized system" set up by Park Jung Hee in south Korea with the backing of the US imperialists was the most despotic military fascist dictatorship unparalleled in all ages and countries of the world.

Tentacles of Conspiracy

The US imperialists turned the spearhead of attack on the forces standing in the way of fascist dictatorship.

The Kim Dae Jung incident is a typical example showing the US imperialists' scheme to clamp down on the democratic forces opposed to fascist dictatorship. The "April 27 Presidential election" in 1971 was the point of departure for the Kim Dae Jung incident.

The general situation on the eve of the "election" and the people's mood turned decisively to the disadvantage of Park Jung Hee who maintained more despotic fascist rule than ever but unprecedentedly favourable to Kim Dae Jung who advocated democracy, people's rights and peaceful reunification.

Feeling uneasy about this, the ruling circles of the United States harshly suppressed the patriotic movement of the democratic forces, while manipulating from behind the scene to hatch a conspiracy for removing Kim Dae Jung as a political rival.

Park Jung Hee mobilized the agents of the south Korean "CIA" to tap Kim Tae Jung's telephone conversations round the clock, intimidate him with threatening telephone calls and letters at the height of campaigns for the "Presidential election," and even to throw bombs into Kim Dae Jung's house at night without scruple. All these mean acts were perpetrated with the backing of the US imperialists.

Even in the unfavourable conditions invested with Park Jung Hee's obstructive moves and unprecedented

"election" frauds Kim Dae Jung won 46 per cent of the total votes.

The public opinion at home and abroad at the time unanimously referred to Kim Dae Jung as the "real winner of the election who lost in the ballot counting but won in voting." When the voices supporting Kim Dae Jung became louder, the US imperialists made believe to support his activity in public, but behind the scene hatched a plot against his life.

Park Jung Hee was unable to feel at ease even for a moment before doing away with Kim Dae Jung, and so committed the premeditated terrorist outrage of bumping a big truck which had been kept to stand ready into Kim Dae Jung's car on a road in Muan County, South Cholla Province, in order to murder him. This happened on May 24, less than a month after the "Presidential election". Kim Dae Jung narrowly escaped death.

On Park Jung Hee's "special instructions" to murder Kim Dae Jung, the agents of the south Korean "CIA" schemed for car crashes even outside the country several times, but they failed each time.

Exasperated at this, Park Jung Hee shouted orders, "Catch and bring his dismembered body in a rucksack, or throw him into the water of the Korean straits. Anyway, finish off the fellow at once."

On August 8, 1973 the kidnappers with the code name "action corps of the national salvation union" abducted Kim Dae Jung in the Grand Palace Hotel in Tokyo. They drugged and brought him to Osaka, bound up like a load and again took him aboard a ship with the intention of throwing him into the sea attaching a 50-kilogram weight to his body.

When their criminal attempt to kill Kim Dae Jung on

the quiet was disclosed to the public and became the target of criticism at home and abroad, the United States feigned ignorance. Park Jung Hee tried to convict him of "pro-communist," but failed.

Afterwards, on the US imperialists' instructions the Park Jung Hee clique put him behind bars on charges of violation of the "election law" and "emergency measure", inhumanly persecuted him and then placed him under long house arrest to prevent his political activity.

In the meantime, whenever the Yushin fascist dictatorial system was put into disarray and the denouncing voices against it rose at home and abroad, the US imperialists made Park Jung Hee carry out a reshuffle of the Cabinet to replace his minions in an attempt to save the crisis and placate the ill feelings of the people. When they were faced with strong denunciation and attack at home and abroad due to the "Kim Dae Jung abduction incident", they arranged matters to dismiss ten "ministers" including "CIA director" Li Hu Rak. When the truth of the "shooting incident" in which Ryuk Yong Su was shot dead came to light, they fired nine persons at the ministerial level including the "Blue House Security Chief" Pak Jong Gyu and "Minister of Home Affairs".

On December 19, 1975 when the "Yushin" fascist dictatorship faced a still more serious crisis, the US reactionary ruling circles had Park Jung Hee make a Cabinet reshuffle ousting Kim Jong Pil from the office of "Prime Minister" and replacing eight "ministers" including "foreign and home ministers".

Park Jung Hee and Kim Jong Pil were originally related as uncle and nephew on the side of the latter's

wife, but were at loggerheads with each other over the office of "President" for a long time.

After staging the "military coup" in collusion with Park Jung Hee under the patronage of the US masters and becoming the "CIA director", Kim Jong Pil founded the "Democratic Republican Party", helped Park Jung Hee to be "elected President" in two fraudulent "elections", but he coveted for the office of "President" inwardly.

Particularly, Kim Jong Pil contemplated seizing the office of President when Park Jung Hee's Presidential term would expire in 1971, and hatched a plot to frustrate Park Jung Hee's moves to stay in power indefinitely. When his rivals such as Li Hu Rak and Yun Pil Yong were ousted, Kim Jong Pil rapidly expanded his forces, took the place of "number two man" and gradually began to put into reality his ulterior design to take hold of the "Presidential office".

This was unfavourable for the United States. The United States abetted Park Jung Hee in carrying out an overall "Cabinet reshuffle" by surprise to oust Kim Jong Pil from post of "Prime Minister". After that, on the US imperialists' instructions, Park Jung Hee got rid of those who had been paying lip service as if they would "cast in their lot with him" in the "Democratic Republican Party" and in the "government", but later defected to the opposition camp.

It is by no means fortuitous that the Japanese magazine *Chuo Koron* (September 1974) wrote, "After the military coup more people from the military circles, Democratic Republican Party and government bodies were eliminated in groups by Park Jung Hee than the opposition politicians".

As is clear from this, whenever the opposition forces raised their head within the south Korean "government" and fought for positions, the US imperialists stood by Park Jung Hee and manoeuvred for the "stability" of the fascist dictatorial regime.

The Wirepuller and the Puppet

Park Jung Hee wielded the sword dreaming of "life Presidency" but in fact, he was no more than a pitiable servant of US imperialism.

Like Syngman Rhee, Park Jung Hee could not take a move without the US imperialists' word.

Alluding to Park Jung Hee as "President" in name playing only the part of a puppet, the English publication *The Eastern World* said ironically long ago that if the United States stops supplying gasoline to Park Jung Hee's car, he will be obliged to hang on to the mule's back or trudge along barefoot.

When Samuel Berker came to Seoul as the sixth US "ambassador" in late June 1961, he began by arranging Park Jung Hee's US trip and bringing the south Korean authorities to join hands with the political circles of Japan.

One of the main purposes pursued by the US imperialists when they summoned Park Jung Hee to the United States at the time was to get south Korea-Japan "talks" started, in addition to giving "support" to the "military coup".

On his way back to south Korea after receiving instructions from the US master, Park Jung Hee stop-

ped over at Tokyo and had "talks" with Japanese Prime Minister Ikeda. Afterwards the former south Korean "CIA director" Kim Jong Pil thrust himself into south Korea-Japan talks in earnest under the manipulation of the US ambassador.

Concerning this, the south Korean journal *Sindonga* (March 1983) wrote:

"In the south Korea-Japan negotiations responsibility was divided so that the US ambassador accredited to Seoul took charge of the south Korean side and the US ambassador in Japan, the Japanese side. So, successive US ambassadors in Japan Jones, Murphy, Mac Arthur Jr., Reischauer and the US ambassador to south Korea Berker manipulated from behind the scene plying between Seoul and Tokyo on the quiet."

In three years of his office the 7th US "ambassador" in south Korea Brown demonstrated his dexterity in increasing south Korea's dependence on the United States and Japan and encouraging Park Jung Hee in his treacherous acts of selling out the country such as dispatch of south Korean troops to Viet Nam, formal signature of the south Korea-Japan "agreement", exchange of ambassadors betwen south Korea and Japan, and conclusion of an "administration agreement" between south Korea and the United States. As the preceding US ambassadors did, he had the run of the "Blue House" to convey the instructions of the United States to Park Jung Hee and demanded that he implement them. Park Jung Hee showed complete submission to and curried favour with the US "ambassador" who conveyed the instructions of the United States.

Referring to this, the south Korean magazine *Wolgan*

Chosun (November 1983) pointed out, "When US ambassador Brown said that the United States wanted south Korea to send its troops to Viet Nam, Park Jung Hee responded with kindliness which was too light an act for a supreme ruler."

Like his predecessors, Brown called and met Park Jung Hee whenever he pleased and had full control of the external and internal affairs of the south Korean "government", but the foreign affairs officials of south Korea had difficult access to Park Jung Hee and were less acquainted with many things than the US "ambassador". So the "minister" and other officials of the Foreign Office would often express doubt about foreign policy problems, but each time Brown cut them short arrogantly by saying, "The question has already been discussed with the summit of your country."

The south Korean rulers were nothing more than the puppets manipulated by the United States.

The 9th US "ambassador" Phillip Habib was more active than his predecessors in carrying out the basic strategy of the US policy in Korea. His term of office coincided with the period when the trends towards reunification mounted among the south Korean people as never before following the announcement of the July 4 North-South Joint Statement. This was a headache for the US imperialists who were maintaining colonial rule in south Korea. They attempted to suppress the trends towards reunification. Habib steered Park Jung Hee and other persons in the ruling circles of south Korea along the line of opposing the July 4 North-South Joint Statement. So, Park Jung Hee and his ilk indulged in deeds and remarks against the joint statement in the "National Assembly" and other places. They

said, "We cannot entrust our fate to the joint statement nor can believe in it," "The nation should not pin hopes on the north-south statement," and "I will not ban lobbying against the joint statement."

Further, the US imperialists scrapped the joint statement and openly clamoured for the creation of "two Koreas". Habib busied himself with the writing and staging of the scenario for national division.

Later he admitted that he received instructions from the high authorities of the United States that it was desirable to keep Korea divided as it was and gave counsel to the south Korean "government" authorities about it several times.

Some time later, Park Jung Hee issued a "special statement" making the "two-Koreas" plot his "policy".

Whenever necessary, the US imperialists would summon Park Jung Hee to the White House to give directives, which immediately became the "policies" of the south Korean "government".

Park Jung Hee's secretaries, too, were frequently called to the US embassy and the US aggressor army headquarters in south Korea to receive directives. They would draw up the "weekly government reports" in accordance with these directives and submitted them to Park Jung Hee. Park Jung Hee, in his turn, made the "reports" the basis of the weekly work plan of the President.

The US imperialists did not confine themselves to this in manipulating Park Jung Hee. The US ambassador would call in Park Jung Hee in secrecy to give him interviews and check on their implementation. They also ruled the roost by various methods such as giving

him recommendations and counsels through many "advisers".

On returning from Washington in early February 1977, the 10th US ambassador in south Korea Richard Snyder called in Park Jung Hee.

Later, recalling what took place that day, he said:

"Park Jung Hee came in a car at the appointed time. The inside of the car was invisible from outside. He asked to observe secrecy about his visit. Entering a secret room, we had four hours' talk over tasty food. He drank much and, feeling fine, let me know almost everything on his mind."

The next day Park Jung Hee gave instructions to take ruthless legal sanctions against those who disapproved the "Yushin system".

The same is the case with the intriguer Hausmann. He was tall and always in black—black clothes, black necktie, and black hat. He suggested the American "Mafia" gang. He spoke fluent Korean and even had a Korean name, Ha Su Man.

When the US imperialist aggressor army occupied south Korea in 1945, Hausmann came with it as an intelligence officer.

The commander of the US imperialist aggressor army and the US "ambassador" in south Korea were replaced several times, but Hausmann stayed on. Always hiding in a secret chamber, he manipulated south Korean rulers. This was why he was little known publicly.

Hausmann was the head of the US military advisory group at the time of the "May 16 military coup". After Park Jung Hee put off his military uniform and ensconced himself in power, he exerted his influence overtly and covertly to assure the former a long-term

office through "constitutional revision for the third-term election to Presidency" and establishment of the "Yushin system".

It is hardly surprising that an American publication stated that Hausmann was always at the bottom of political changes in south Korea.

Park Jung Hee had only the obligation to uphold the United States and obey its directives. This is why the US ambassador Snyder used to say proudly that the United States and south Korea were in the relationship of vertical dependence.

The US ambassadors in south Korea who were carrying out the south Korean policy of the US had free access to the Blue House, to say nothing of the "office of prime minister" and the "Ministry of National Defence", bypassing the "Ministry of Foreign Affairs". They gave instructions to the south Korean rulers and supervised and controlled their implementation.

Stretching out their tentacles of surveillance and control before the noses of the south Korean rulers, the US imperialists knew every slight movement of Park Jung Hee, his trouble and fear and even foresaw his fate.

This is evident from the lecture given at Texas University in December 1976 by Drald Graig who headed the Seoul office of the CIA for three years. He said that if the Park regime went on with the present policy, it would be overthrown in the middle of his term. Realization of Park Jung Hee's dream for "life Presidency" entirely depended on how he carried out the US masters' directives. If he fell into disgrace with the US masters, his fate would come to an end overnight.

Ominous Foreboding

South Korean youth and students and people greeted the year 1979 in a struggle.

A man who had taken part in the democratization movement in face of fascist tyranny said, "The 'Yushin' dictatorial regime must be overthrown in view of its repeated wrongdoings and lies. In this sense, too, this year is an important one." (*Sekai* of March 1979.)

The overseas Korean newspaper *Minjok Sinbo* dated January 1, 1979 stressed that the year 1979 must be made an epoch-making year putting an end to the Park regime.

The US political and military circles' mistrust in Park Jung Hee increased gradually as he was beaten within and without and staggering.

US President Carter visited Seoul on June 29, 1979 after attending the seven Western nations' summit talks held in Tokyo.

At Kimpo airport Carter first noticed the uneasiness of Park Jung Hee who came to meet him. President Carter simply shook hands with Park Jung Hee with a stiff expression, without wearing his "inimitable smile", and immediately flew to the 2nd US Division in Tongduchon by helicopter.

Setting his foot on the soil of south Korea for the first time, he felt that the situation of south Korea was more serious than he had expected.

In fact, entering 1979, the confrontation between patriotism and betrayal of the country, between democracy and fascism in south Korea became acuter.

Youth and students, dismissed professors, religious people, detainees' families and the people of other social sections came out in a patriotic struggle against betrayal of the country and fascism and for freedom and democracy. Particularly the fighting morale of youth and students was running high as never before.

The wicked fascist clique further strengthened political supervision over every university or college and watched campuses by increasing the intelligence and police forces such as the "Capital Garrison Command", "CIA", "Internal Security Bureau", "police stations" in an attempt to check the expanding anti-fascist struggle, but in vain.

On April 13 the workers of the YH Trading Company came out in a valorous struggle for democracy and the right to existence. They continued with their struggle by means of sit-in strikes and demonstrations without yielding to the enemy's brutal repression. It developed into a political struggle and enjoyed warm support and encouragement from the people in all walks of life.

Through the solidarity struggle to encourage the employees of the YH Trading Company, solidarity between labour and democratic movements attained a new high.

The anti-fascist democratic forces in south Korea grew strong enough to render powerful blows to "Yushin" dictatorship and launched frontal attacks against the fascist dictatorial regime.

The Park Jung Hee clique, though armed with US weapons, was powerless in the face of the onslaught of the patriotic-minded people. They suffered the acutest crisis after the April 19 Popular Uprising in 1960 due to the increasing discontent of the masses with the

"Yushin" fascist dictatorship, aggravation of the economic crisis, acuter confrontation between ins and outs, surfacing of vacillation and confrontation within the ruling circles.

The next day after an overnight stay in the US army base in Tongduchon, President Carter changed the prearranged schedule of his sojourn and met Park Jung Hee. After inquiring closely about the obtaining situation, Carter told him to mend matters, and held counsel as to the war policy. After Carter left Seoul on July 1, the journalists at home and abroad aired their view that the aim of his visit to south Korea was to "finally probe into the possibility of the Park regime's survival."

The US imperialists came to the conclusion that Park Jung Hee was as good as a decayed tree and was an obstacle to the pursuance of their colonial enslavement policy in south Korea. The US reactionary ruling circles decided to mend the existing state of things by getting rid of Park Jung Hee.

Shots Rung Out at Kungjong-dong

Fierce flames of struggle flared up again in south Korea.

On October 17, 1979 students of Pusan University and Tonga College and citizens running into 5,000 came out in the anti-"government" struggle, shouting loudly, "Down with the Park regime!" With the participation of large numbers of workers, citizens and students, the struggle developed into a mass revolt and a democratic national salvation resistance.

The flames of resistance spread rapidly to Masan,

Seoul, Taegu, Kwangju, Chonju, Chongju, Ulsan and other places and, at last, the whole of south Korea turned into a blazing scene of resistance. At this news, US President Carter gave instructions to take a "decisive action". The CIA hastened to send "special agents" in the guise of "businessmen", "diplomats", and "visitors" to Seoul.

The south Korean magazine *Sindonga* (October 1984) wrote:

"Seoul witnessed the influx of people who looked like CIA men during the period from Carter's south Korean visit in June 1979 when he had a nervous wrangling with Park Jung Hee before returning home to the October 26 incident."

Meanwhile, an assassination plan was discussed in the basement of the CIA headquarters. Present at the place were five Americans including chief assistant of the US President and the secret operation chief of the CIA, and two special agents of the south Korean "CIA". One of the latter was a close associate of the "CIA director" Kim Jae Gyu and the other was an experienced secret agent owning a large real estate in California.

They consulted together and agreed that Park Jung Hee should be called out to a certain place and killed on the spot in late October and, in case Kim Jae Gyu should fail to kill him, Park should be sniped at a certain place in Seoul.

At the same time, the US Department of Defence envisaged that synchronized with the assassination of Park Jung Hee all the US forces in the Far East including the US land forces in south Korea with the 2nd Division as the core, combat air groups in Osan, Kunsan and Taegu, the strategic air command in Okinawa, the 2nd

Marine Division, and two aircraft carriers *Kitty Hawk* and *Coral Sea* should be put on the alert.

This step was adopted on the pretext of preventing confusion after Park Jung Hee's assassination.

The plan of killing Park Jung Hee handed over by the US imperialists made smooth headway in south Korea.

US ambassador Gleysteen visited Washington on the quiet to report this state of affairs. He returned to Seoul ten days before the assassination of Park Jung Hee.

He drew up a concrete action plan to carry out the home government's instructions with the CIA Seoul office chief and on October 26 met the south Korean CIA director Kim Jae Gyu.

Unaware what fate was waiting for him that day, Park Jung Hee attended the ceremony for the completion of the tide-control embankments of the Samgyo River in the forenoon and called out large numbers of peasants to the site. The project which cost the peasants an enormous amount of money and even took a toll of human lives was not intended for the good of the farming population but for the publicity of "administrative achievements" of Park Jung Hee himself.

Meanwhile, the US ambassador was holding counsel with CIA director Kim Jae Gyu in a secret room in Seoul.

Gleysteen said gravely in a threatening tone, "We hope you will act resolutely this time." Kim Jae Gyu engraved every word of the American on his mind.

"Be courageous. Bear in mind that there should never be failure." To his last word Kim Jae Gyu replied seriously, "I have never failed in that kind of thing."

Ambassador Gleysteen nodded with satisfaction. Kim Jae Gyu parted from Gleysteen a few hours before the dinner party began in the "CIA" dining hall. The dinner

party was given by Kim Jae Gyu. It was towards evening that Park Jung Hee after attending the ceremony for the completion of the tide-control embankments came to the dining hall in Kungjong-dong where his subordinate's gun muzzle was awaiting him.

In addition to Park Jung Hee, CIA director Kim Jae Gyu, security chief Cha Ji Chol, chief of the secretariat for President Kim Gye Won sat down to table, and guards of the Blue House were standing ready for action outside.

Kim Jae Gyu who was seated opposite Park Jung Hee across the table thought, I must not fail; I must let daylight into him with one shot. And he felt the West German-made pistol in his pocket. Darkness began to gather outside.

He went outside at about 7:40. Then, coming back, he had sat down no sooner than he produced the pistol from his waist pocket and fired a bullet through security chief Cha Ji Chol, and, turning the gun towards Park Jung Hee pulled the trigger.

Cha Ji Chol, hit in his right arm, fled to the water closet, bleeding. Park Jung Hee was shot through his belly in his sitting position and collapsed to the left.

With Kim Jae Gyu's gunshot as the signal, his underlings fired at Park Jung Hee's attendants.

In a moment the inside and outside of the dining hall in Kungjong-dong got dirty with blood and dead bodies.

Kim Jae Gyu found out Cha Ji Chol whom he had failed to knock off with the first shot and finished him off by firing another bullet into him. Then he approached Park Jung Hee and, pointing his pistol at his forehead, pulled the trigger for the second time. All this took place in only three minutes.

US ambassador Gleysteen was the first to receive the report that Park Jung Hee was shot dead.

Expressing his satisfaction at the account of his security aide Brzezinski about Park Jung Hee's assassination, President Carter gave instructions to call an "emergency National Security Council meeting" on the plea of coping with the possible chaos in south Korea and told the State Department to start persuading operations to deny the "US party to the killing of Park Jung Hee" case. According to his instructions, the State Department issued a statement on October 27 that it regarded Park Jung Hee's murder case as an internal affair of south Korea. At the same time, it notified England and other Western countries through diplomatic channels that the United States had nothing to do with Park Jung Hee's murder incident.

This crude and foolish attempt to cover up the truth about Park Jung Hee's murder was so ridiculous as to invoke the suspicion of all south Korean people. The October 1984 number of the south Korean magazine *Sindonga* jeered at the crafty farce staged by the US imperialists. It said, "The Washington authorities jealously pleaded their non-involvement in Park Jung Hee's murder incident. The marked efforts of the United States to vindicate its innocence were such that they reminded one of the saying that the thief always feels uneasy".

"The United States Is at My Back"

When the news spread that the dictator Park Jung Hee was shot to death by his close associate, news-

papers, news services, and radios at home and abroad aired their views.

The *Haeoe Hanminbo* of December 1, 1979, wrote:

"On an autumn evening when leaves were falling, shots rang out in succession in a secret chamber at the foot of Mt. Pugak.

"The merciless bullets pierced his heart and shattered his head.

"The pistol of his trusted follower spat fire at his boss.

"Kim Jae Gyu's index finger which pulled the trigger did not bear the will of history, but the bullets of the 38mm-caliber revolver bore the wicked intentions of America."

The Japanese newspaper *Sankey Shimbun* wrote, "Park Jung Hee's murder case placed the US in the dock."

While attention at home and abroad was focussed on the US imperialists, Kim Jae Gyu appeared at the meeting hall of the "Ministry of National Defence" with Army Chief of Staff Chong Sung Hwa and told at the "emergency State Council meeting" which was in session at the time:

"The President has been shot dead. I killed him. The United States is at my back."

The elated words of CIA director Kim Jae Gyu surprised all those present. This upset the US imperialists who had tried so hard to deny the US involvement in the murder case.

The US imperialists had plotted to shoot Park Jung Hee to death and chosen Kim Jae Gyu as its executioner, considering: first, that he was very loyal to the US; secondly, that he was displeased with Park Jung Hee for shifting the responsibility for the repeated

failures in getting over crises to the CIA; and thirdly, that he has an eye to power. Then Kim Jae Gyu drew up the plan for action on the directions of the United States and on the very day of action received detailed instructions from Gleysteen.

Flurried at Kim Jae Gyu's thoughtless talk, the US imperialists conceived another plot. The United States attempted to describe Park Jung Hee's murder as "a case resulting from Kim Jae Gyu's ambition for Presidency". The US imperialists immediately sought to make the south Korean authorities stage a military trial where Kim Jae Gyu would be forced to testify that he alone was responsible for the murder case.

On the US imperialists' instructions the military trial against Kim Jae Gyu who killed Park Jung Hee started on December 4.

The atmosphere in the court was dreary. Soon the public prosecutor began to interrogate the accused.

Public prosecutor: Did you kill President Park and Security Chief Cha Ji Chol?

Kim Jae Gyu: Yes.

Public prosecutor: When?

Kim Jae Gyu: At about 7:40 p.m. on October 26.

Public prosecutor: It is said you committed the crime with an eye to the post of President.

Kim Jae Gyu: I had no intentions to sit on the grave of the dead President.

The trial continued.

The puppet clique summoned the two waitresses who served on October 26, the day of the incident, at the Kungjong-dong dining hall to give testimonies.

At last the public prosecutor began his final speech

at 1:50 p.m. on December 18, the ninth day of the trial.

While the public prosecutor was delivering his concluding speech, Kim Jae Gyu sat calmly, looking ahead of him. This was followed by Kim Jae Gyu's last statement in camera.

He concluded his statement by saying:

"My duty was to kill the President. I only performed my duty.

"I declare once more that the United States is at my back."

Kim Jae Gyu's last statement surprised those present at the court once again.

The military trial did not end as the US imperialists wanted to. It came to a close in ten days.

A south Korean journal questioned the proceeding of the trial, pointing out, "This is the first time that the hearing of a big case at the military trial was wound up with such dispatch."

Kim Jae Gyu's last statement pushed the US imperialists still deeper into a quandary. Eventually it came to light beyond any doubt that the US imperialists planned and stage-managed Park Jung Hee's assassination.

Park Jung Hee's fate was in the hands of the US imperialists from beginning to end.

3. The Fascist Maniac Is Doomed to Ruin

Potential Stooge

The US imperialists systematically trained their on-the-spot agents who would guard their interests in south Korea. Chun Doo Hwan was one of them.

The US army advisor who was sent to train the south Korean "national army" as a local mercenary army recommended Chun Doo Hwan who had unusually strong pro-American sentiments from among the cadets for study in America.

According to the CIA plan Chun Doo Hwan was sent to Portblack Airlift School in Kansas State of the United States in June 1959. There he was formally enlisted as a US agent.

Then, considering that Chun Doo Hwan could be a promising agent useful to the United States, the US imperialists sent him to the West Point Military Academy in 1960 to give him special training in guerrilla and psychological warfare.

From around this period Park Jung Hee manoeuvred as an agent of the CIA.

The political situation in south Korea became still more confused from the late 1950's to the early 1960's.

The collapse of Syngman Rhee's dictatorial regime which was engrossed in selling out the country and treachery was imminent.

To cope with this situation the CIA discussed immediate and long-range measures to replace Syngman Rhee's rule with a "military government" in south Korea.

The immediate measure was to train military fascists who would form the first "military government" and the long-range measure was to look up and train latent stooges who would succeed to their place.

The head of the CIA office in Seoul chose Chun Doo Hwan as a potential stooge from among the 11th class graduates of the south Korean military academy. The reason was that he was the rudest of all the 11th-term cadets and, in particular, the entry of his character in his middle-school register appended to his personal file gave the general appraisal that "He has a violent temper and is rude in behaviour, and that his classmates fear him and the teachers feel uneasy about him."

While going through the list of potential stooges selected on the spot, which was sent in by the CIA head in Seoul, the CIA paid special attention to Chun Doo Hwan's personal file.

Closely examining Chun Doo Hwan's attitude towards the United States, character, behaviour, past record and physique, it finally confirmed that the recommendation given by the head of the CIA office in Seoul tallied with that given by the West Point Military Academy. Thus, Chun Doo Hwan was chosen as the candidate for the replacement of the minion.

The Masters' "Confidence"

Who, of the latent stooges, would be made head of

the south Korean puppet government is decided by the agreement of the CIA and the State and Defence Departments.

Therefore, Chun Doo Hwan who was chosen as a latent stooge of the CIA looked out for a chance to win the confidence of the US Defence and State Departments.

In November 1970 the US imperialists were floundering in the bog of the aggressive war in Viet Nam. Taking it that a good chance came to perform a "feat" for his US masters, Chun Doo Hwan volunteered to go to the aggressive war being waged by the US imperialists in South Viet Nam as a regimental commander of the "White Horse Unit of the National Army".

Serving there as a bullet-shield for the US imperialist aggressor army troops, Chun Doo Hwan led barbarous operations of carnage. Pushing through the jungles in South Viet Nam, he gained notoriety in the barbarous "punitive operations" of killing innocent people and destroying, plundering and burning chattels, and gained the confidence of Wickham who was serving in South Viet Nam at the time and through him came in contact with personages of the US Department of Defence.

Wickham introduced Chun Doo Hwan who was showing intense "loyalty" to the US, to Richard Allen, special assistant to the US President for security, who was his long and intimate acquaintance.

Concerning this, the Japanese magazine *Toitsu Hyoron* (October 1980) wrote, "Chun Doo Hwan sped along the path to power, with a strong backing of General Wickham, his old friend from the time of the first purge to the Vietnamese war."

Training Chun Doo Hwan as their potential stooge, the US imperialists highly "appraised" him for his hatred and ruthlessness towards his fellow countrymen.

Taking up the post of "National Army Security Commander" in 1979, Chun Doo Hwan said:

"In future our Security Command will take charge of eradicating all elements of unrest inimical to security. At present the police and the CIA of south Korea are mild in dealing with dissidents and student demonstrations. This will never bring peace. Therefore, the disturbing elements should be wiped out."

When the students of Pusan University and citizens of Pusan rose in an anti-"government" revolt demanding the democratization of the campus and abolition of the "Yushin system" in October 1979, he praised the outrages of the Park Jung Hee clique, saying, "If we are not to be ruined, we must be ready to trample down even ten million people."

Chun Doo Hwan who won the US masters' favour in this way ascended the ladder of promotion swiftly because he did anything if it was for the United States.

Authorized Brandishing of the Sword

Towards the close of the 1970's fierce flames of the anti-fascist struggle for democracy flared up in south Korea once more. This presented a great threat to US imperialist colonial rule.

Flurried at this, the US imperialists staged a "change of government" farce by shooting the now useless Park Jung Hee dead and putting Chun Doo Hwan at the post of "President".

As the first step to give Chun Doo Hwan access to "power" the US imperialists egged the military rogue on to carry out the "coup for purging the army".

On the night of December 12, 1979 Chun Doo Hwan rushed into Seoul over 50,000 troops including the 20th and 9th Divisions of the "national army", tanks and armoured cars.

Four tanks and over 100 "coup" troops on board two trucks raided the house of "Army Chief of Staff" Chong Sung Hwa in Hannam-dong, Ryongsan District, Seoul. They shot resisting guards dead and arrested Chong Sung Hwa.

Meanwhile, the "coup" troops that occupied the "army headquarters" and the "Ministry of National Defence" arrested and imprisoned over 50 generals and field grade officers.

Dumbfounded at the rattle of the machine guns of the "coup" troops the "Minister of National Defence" who did not know what was happening, fled through an emergency passage to the 8th Army Command of the US imperialist aggressor army. The "paratrooper commander" and the "Seoul Garrison Commander" who were summoned to Wickham were arrested on their way to him.

Chun Doo Hwan's action plan and the list of those to be arrested had been examined and approved beforehand by US Ambassador Gleysteen and the US imperialist aggressor army Commander Wickham.

With a toll of over 150 killed and many wounded Chun Doo Hwan occupied the "army headquarters" and the "Ministry of National Defence" and disposed of Chong Sung Hwa and scores of generals who were his

seniors overnight. This was entirely thanks to the manipulation and direction of the US masters.

Wickham handed over to Chun Doo Hwan enormous troops under the south Korea-US "joint command" to facilitate the "coup for purging the army". At the same time, describing the "army purge coup" ostensibly as a "violation of the agreement on the prerogative of supreme command", he noisily talked about putting Chun Doo Hwan on the retired list. But this was a trick of the US imperialists to deceive the public at home and abroad.

When the young officers of the south Korean army who took the US imperialists' false statement at its face value asked Wickham for permission to "remove Chun Doo Hwan who betrayed the US", he rejected their request. This revealed for itself that their utterance about "violation of agreement" and what not was a lie.

The US imperialists saw to it that after ousting Chong Sung Hwa and his company all of a sudden by means of underhand intrigue, Chun Doo Hwan appointed his brother-in-law Li Hui Song "army chief of staff" and concurrently "martial law commander" and the husband of his wife's sister Roh Tae Woo Seoul Garrison Commander, and assigned his close adherents, the 11th-term graduates of the "Military Academy", to important posts in the south Korean army.

Chun Doo Hwan who seized the "military authority" under the aegis of the US imperialists now started large-scale "purging operations" against the south Korean "CIA", deeming it essential to hold the control of the "CIA" to establish his foothold for power.

He first sent his brother-in-law Li Hui Song to the "CIA for its "purging operations", but Li Hui Song was

not equal to the job of getting the CIA men under his thumb.

Infuriated at this, Chun Doo Hwan brought pressure to bear upon the then interim President Choe Gyu Ha to appoint him director of the CIA.

Later, as instructed by the US imperialists Chun Doo Hwan purged 30 CIA bosses including deputy directors and department chiefs and over 800 agents accusing them of "complicity in the October incident", "sympathy with the murderer of the President", "dereliction of duty" and others and filled their posts with his followers.

Now, after seizing the military authority and occupying the post of CIA director, Chun Doo Hwan was intent on assuming the Presidency. But he had formidable rivals. In particular, the three Kims— Kim Jong Pil, Kim Yong Sam and Kim Dae Jung— were the trouble for him.

At the time, taking advantage of the south Korean people's demand for the "abolition of the Yushin system", Kim Jong Pil was taking a move that was threatening. He agreed with Kim Yong Sam on calling a session of the "National Assembly" to discuss the "bill for the revision of the constitution" providing for the "President-centred system" and "direct election of the President".

In addition, he adopted "popularity-seeking tactics" like donating over 6,420,000 hectares of pasture to the "Changhak group" he had founded, and was bent on expanding his influence by inviting opposition politicians and his contemporaries at the "Military Academy" to "banquets" and by resorting to other means.

Kim Jong Pil was a strong adversary capable of foiling Chun Doo Hwan's design to occupy the seat of

"supreme power". Another nuisance was Kim Yong Sam who had some footing and was in league with Kim Jong Pil.

The same could be said of Kim Dae Jung. Regarding Kim Dae Jung as a thorn in his flesh, the former dictator Park Jung Hee, too, attempted to do away with him, but failed to do so. Chun Doo Hwan was well aware that for his political view and influence Kim Dae Jung would get the better of him in the future competition for power.

Meanwhile, the sentiments of the people were not in his favour. Following the resistance struggles in Masan and Pusan, the struggle of the south Korean people against the "Yushin system" and for democratization of society and the right to live rapidly spread all over south Korea.

Taking everything into account, Chun Doo Hwan found it difficult to become the President. So, he resolved to come into the presidential office by all means with the US imperialists' backing. He came to strengthen this resolve under the active influence of US Ambassador Gleysteen and the US aggressor army Commander Wickham.

Climbing to the Head of the Fascist Regime

With the backstage manipulation of the US imperialists emergency martial law was imposed on the whole of south Korea on May 17, 1980.

Bringing into Seoul over 20,000 troops including the 20th Division of the "national army", the Chun Doo Hwan clique closed down the "government" offices

including the "Capitol Building", "National Assembly" and "municipal office", major newspapers, news agencies, radio stations and schools, and banned political activity, before they arrested the most dangerous adversary Kim Jong Pil on charges of illegal gain of wealth and Kim Dae Jung on the ground of a plot for rebellion and placed Kim Yong Sam under house arrest. In addition, Chun Doo Hwan arrested innumerable political figures, scholars and clergymen and hundreds of organizers of student movements. This was the "May 17 military coup" carried out on the US imperialists' instructions, which was a reproduction of the "May 16 military coup" of the former dictator.

In face of the violent reactionary onslaught of the military fascists who challenged patriotism and went against democracy, the south Korean people rose unhesitatingly in the solemn resistance struggle for freedom and democracy. The mass advance of the patriotic-minded youth and students and people in Kwangju was an outburst of their smouldering indignation and resentment against the May 17 fascist violence.

When the heroic popular uprising broke out in Kwangju and the spearhead of the struggle was turned on Chun Doo Hwan, the Commander of the US imperialist aggressor army Wickham put tens of thousands of paratroopers and armoured troops under his command at the disposal of Chun Doo Hwan and "alerted" the US imperialist aggressor army in south Korea to stand by.

The US imperialists brought a task force led by the aircraft carriers *Coral Sea* and *Midway* to the south Korean waters and their vicinity and rushed air warning and control planes to the south Korean airspace for the

purpose of intimidating by force of arms the people of Kwangju who rose in the struggle.

Mobilizing heavily armed troops and police forces with the backing of the US imperialists, the Chun Doo Hwan clique began by indiscriminately firing at the barehanded demonstrators, murdering numerous youth, students and citizens and drowning the streets of resistance for democracy with blood.

With the US imperialists' wirepulling, the military ruffians committed atrocities, so that over 5,000 citizens were killed, ten and more thousand wounded and several thousand insurgents arrested.

As voices of denunciation against Chun Doo Hwan became louder, the cunning US imperialists made a show of criticizing Chun Doo Hwan outwardly while making unscrupulous moves to install Chun Doo Hwan at the post of President behind the scene. They incited Chun Doo Hwan to form the "extraordinary measure for national defence committee" as the supreme power organ on May 31 on the plea of "security" and "maintenance of peace" and put him at its head. In fact, this was a step for investing Chun Doo Hwan with "legislative, judicial and administrative powers".

After that, US Ambassador Gleysteen and US army Commander Wickham went to America and held conferences in succession with the high-ranking officials of the US Administration, Departments of State and Defence and the Congress. In this course they decided on the detailed schedule for rigging up Chun Doo Hwan's military dictatorial "regime".

It was a question of time that Chun Doo Hwan would become "President", for under the aegis of the US imperialists he got hold of power machinery by using all

sorts of tricks and means and thus laid the ground for dictatorship.

One August day in 1980 Gleysteen and Wickham called Chun Doo Hwan to a secret room of the US embassy. That day they gave Chun Doo Hwan the detailed schedule for setting up the military dictatorial "regime". Then they openly stated that the US decided to support Chun Doo Hwan in case he became a new leader of south Korea.

The US imperialists ensured that Chun Du Hwan ousted Choe Gyu Ha from the post of President and on August 27 trumped up his election to the "Presidency" by using the voting machine of the Autonomous National Congress for Unification set up by the former dictator.

The former Pesident Choe Gyu Ha told the inside story of how he was forced to give up the presidential office under the pressure of the US ambassador and the Chun Doo Hwan clique before his tenure of office expired:

"The US ambassador's counsel, or rather strong pressure made me leave the Blue House. August 27, the day of presidential election, was the gloomiest day in my life."

On August 28, the day after Chun Doo Hwan was elected President Gleysteen conveyed him the US President's personal letter expressing his support and congratulation.

The previous day the Korea section chief of the US State Department called on the south Korean ambassador in Washington and conveyed US congratulations on Chun Doo Hwan's election as the "President".

The world public, to say nothing of the entire Korean people, strongly condemned another US-staged farce of "government" change while the US President and high-ranking officials of the Departments of State and Defence did not hide their delight.

A foreign newspaper wrote, "Chun Doo Hwan took over the despot's clothes made of US Stars and Stripes and stained with patriots' blood. Chun Doo Hwan must take responsibility for the brutal massacre of thousands of people by the punitive force in Kwangju where a popular uprising arose against them in May. He drowned the Kwangju uprising in blood and set about a large-scale purge of the whole south Korean society.

"The army and the state apparatus came under the dictator's control, and military courts and retraining camps began to operate, and university professors, journalists and all influential politicians were imprisoned.

"The new dictator in Seoul established an 'order', an 'American-style order'. He gave himself the title of General. It only remained to legalize the boss of gangsters. In this way another puppet Choe Gyu Ha who was the interim President after Park Jung Hee's murder was dismissed. This put an end to the farce. The United States again laid its hopes on the puppet."

When loud voices were raised at home and abroad in strong denunciation of Chun Doo Hwan's mean act of usurping power, Reagan who, on taking office as President, started by inviting Chun Doo Hwan to the United States and encouraged him, promising him active protection.

US Advisers behind the Scene

When Chun Doo Hwan staged the "December 12 coup of purge in the army", committed the May 17 fascist violence and climbed to the top of the fascist regime, he was manipulated from behind the scene by the US imperialist aggressor army commander, US ambassador and three American advisers. The three advisers were the political councillor of the US embassy in south Korea John Lamasa, deputy chief of the American Chamber of Commerce and Industry in south Korea Frederick Clous and a "retired soldier", a colonel who had served long in the 8th US Army Command.

As for the "retired soldier", the Japanese reporters in Seoul called him "foggy political man", and would say that "one should go to the 'retired soldier' for information about the drift of the south Korean politics".

The "retired soldier" behind the scene, Wickham and Gleysteen acted as midwife in the birth of Chun Doo Hwan's fascist "regime". When the popular uprising in Kwangju was at its height, US President Carter's special assistant for security Brzezinski sought to call out even the US imperialist aggressor army for the suppression of the revolt, saying, "The insurgents of Kwangju must be suppressed with iron hand." He aired his views after the repeated conferences of the US policy makers.

As the field executors sent to south Korea asked for a "plan for coping with the Kwangju situation", Carter called State Secretary Muskie, Defence Secretary Brown, his special assistant for security Brzezinski and CIA Director Turner to hold an "emergency conference

to cope with the south Korean situation".

Following the briefing of Brzezinski and Turner about the Kwangju situation, the meeting decided on the ways of suppressing the revolt, the question of mobilizing troops and equipment accordingly and emergency measures for preventing the upsurge of the revolt.

It was the "retired soldier" who insistently suggested Carter to mobilize south Korean troops for the suppression of the Kwangju popular uprising.

He reported to Carter that without adopting a hard-line policy the US position in south Korea would be jeopardized.

The "retired soldier" and other American "advisers" masterminded the suppression of the democratic forces including the Kwangju massacre and exerted great influence in establishing the fascist dictatorial system of the Chun Doo Hwan regime.

This fact was revealed more clearly when early in 1981 Chun Doo Hwan said frankly, "American advisers are behind me, and I act on their directives".

Symptoms of Doom

Although Chun Doo Hwan took the seat of the master of the Blue House by wielding the sword put in his hand by his master, he was unable to survive without the protection and backing of the United States. Yet, the position of the United States in south Korea as the patron and lord of Chun Doo Hwan went from bad to worse with the passage of time. Following the Kwangju massacre perpetrated on the instructions of the US imperialists in 1980, the struggle of the masses was

stepped up in south Korea every day with the aim of attack set at the US imperialists. The anti-US and independence consciousness of the people from all walks of life who repudiated the US colonial policy and demanded the withdrawal of American troops rose sharply. In particular, the workers put up the worthy slogan "Let us expel the US imperialists and establish a democratic government!" with increasing tenacity in recent years. As the south Korean people's anti-US spirits were rising, the "US Cultural Centres" in south Korean cities such as Seoul, Pusan, Taegu and Kwangju were set on fire or occupied and the US embassy, casinos and banks were attacked and wrecked. The Star-Spangled Banners were burnt and ceremonies of burning Reagan and American imperialism in effigy were held in succession.

In south Korea the anti-US independence struggle became a social trend. According to a public-opinion poll taken by a south Korean journal, 87.5 per cent of the people who participated in it demanded the repudiation of the United States and restoration of independence.

Things have come to such a pass that even the kept press of south Korea openly write about the trends towards the anti-US struggle. The south Korean newspaper *Chosun Ilbo* carried in a year more than 20 articles exposing the American policy of south Korean occupation, and even the American paper *Washington Post* reported about the anti-US struggle which was becoming ever fiercer in south Korea, pointing out that opposition to the United States was trend in south Korea.

The anti-US movements mounting daily among the south Korean people of all walks of life proved a serious

threat and crusher to the Chun Doo Hwan regime which could hardly hold out even for a day without US covering.

In parallel with the growth of anti-US trends, the democratic forces opposed to the military fascist system of dictatorship gained in scope and strength and, as a result, the struggle against Chun Doo Hwan developed vigorously.

The people from all social sections burned with indignation and the struggle of the masses against Chun Doo Hwan was intensified. They shouted "Down with the military junta!" "Chun Doo Hwan, be off with you!" and "Quarter Chun Doo Hwan, the culprit of the Kwangju massacre!"

In September and October 1984 and around the "election to the south Korean National Assembly" in February 1985, people of all social quarters including the youth, students and democrats in Seoul and provinces came out with a strong demand for an end to the fascist regime and the resignation of the dictator. It is not an accident that at the time Kim Dae Jung told the American magazine *Newsweek* that "more than 90 per cent of the south Korean population do not support the fascist system of Chun Doo Hwan."

The struggle forces restricted until a few years ago within the limits of the "forces of the movement sphere" including the youth and students as the column, progressive intellectuals, men of religion, workers and peasants grew in strength rapidly with the influx of the middle-class citizens of urban communities.

Chun Doo Hwan found himself isolated and denounced from within and without. The contradiction and dissension between Chun Doo Hwan and some

brass hats of the army circles that were considered the mainstay of the footing for his fascist system of one-man dictatorship became more acute with time.

According to the November 1982 issue of the Japanese magazine *Sekai,* a group of army generals formed an organization called "Chongbaek-hoe" (Integrity Society). The organization made up of over 30 men included the "11th-class graduates of the Military Academy" who formed the backbone of the army. They had strong anti-Chun Doo Hwan sentiments.

Scared at the growing criticism against him within the army circles, Chun Doo Hwan began, on the US imperialists' instructions, to banish from important posts those who harboured ill feelings against him or were regarded as dangerous adversaries. In a brief period after September 1980 alone, over 100 generals were turned out of the army. The expelled military men became "unseen enemies" of Chun Doo Hwan. Some generals aired their dissatisfaction directly with Chun Doo Hwan. One day in December 1982, Paek Un Taek (an 11th-class graduate of the Military Academy) who was the first army corps commander of the puppet army called on Chun Doo Hwan in the Blue House. Sitting face to face with Chun Doo Hwan, he reminded him of the violence in Kwangju, Chang Ryong Ja's check loan scandal, crackdown on the dissidents and other facts which had brought forth sharp public criticism and said, "They are gross blunders. Public sentiments are disturbed, which has affected the army so that military discipline is sadly decayed. At this rate, I don't know what a big trouble is awaiting us. Aren't you inclined to change the government policy even now?"

Paek Un Taek's visit to the Blue House itself went against the grain of Chun Doo Hwan. Moreover, he was extremely displeased with his critical remarks. Paek Un Taek was unable to remain seated face to face with him any more. Only treated coldly by Chun Doo Hwan, he left the Blue House giving vent to his ill feelings by saying, "Anyway, if things go on at this rate, it will be hard to maintain power."

Angered at this, Chun Doo Hwan ordered his two underlings to "stop up his mouth for ever so as not to wag his tongue again." That day, the two men who received the order invited Paek Un Taek to a restaurant closed to the public and murdered him.

Conflicts and discords endangering Chun Doo Hwan's fascist one-man dictatorship occurred even within the "Democratic Justice Party" then in power. Kwon Jong Dal who was the "secretary general of the party" was deemed as a dangerous rival of Chun Doo Hwan. He had played an important part in founding the "Democratic Justice Party". After the party's inauguration, he schemed covertly to take hold of its reins and expand his sphere of influence. Taking advantage of the modification of the party apparatus in 1981, he newly set up or reorganized the "room of assemblymen", "room for political control" and "financial room" under the secretariat and thus became the real boss of the "Democratic Justice Party" who controlled not only the conduct of party affairs but also its policy activities, its operations in the National Assembly and even its finances.

Noticing this, Chun Doo Hwan felt uneasy about him before anyone else. Fearing that he might be pushed out of the party leader's seat, Chun Doo Hwan warned with

an angry touch at the concluding session of the "National Assembly" in 1981 that "formation of any power group will not be tolerated". Then he instituted the post of "head of the secretariat room under the party leader" to prevent the expansion of Kwon Jong Dal's influence. He appointed a close adherent of his hailing from North Kyongsang Province to the post and made him report regularly about the party's activities.

However, Kwon Jong Dal did not meekly yield to this step. He was ambitious in his own way.

More displeased with Kwon Jong Dal, Chun Doo Hwan wanted to remove him. When the public opinion was stirred up at his moves to vindicate the check loan scandal of Chang Ryong Ja who was his relative, Chun Doo Hwan got rid of Kwon Jong Dal and his company by fixing the "responsibility for it" on the "Democratic Justice Party." He did this on the US imperialists' instructions.

Such veiled struggle for power continued within the army circles, the Blue House and the ruling party. Those who were expelled by Chun Doo Hwan from important posts of the military and political establishments were watching for a chance to take revenge in their own way.

This shows that the fascist "regime" the US imperialists had rigged up through the medium of their long-groomed stooge Chun Doo Hwan was unstable.

Commenting on the struggle within the ruling quarters, a Japanese newspaper wrote, "It darkens the future of the Chun regime."

In this precarious situation Chun Doo Hwan was anxious to accomplish his wicked desire for long-term office by all means.

In fact, there was no one who sincerely supported

Chun Doo Hwan's fascist dictatorship rigged up by the US imperialists.

It goes without saying that the people strongly opposed and rebuffed Chun Doo Hwan. Moreover, brass hats of the military and "government" officials, too, played up to the fascist dictator just to please him, but looked down on him inwardly.

Therefore, Chun Doo Hwan was desperate to keep himself from repudiation and isolation within and without.

The signs of Chun Doo Hwan's ruin were apparent in the chaotic situation of the south Korean economy and the south Korean people's ever-growing trend of resistance to him. Widespread bankruptcy of small and middle enterprises in urban communities and the failure of the agricultural policy centring on the New Village Movement devastated the countryside and pushed the whole of south Korea into the abyss of "the poor becoming ever poorer." The south Korean economy came to be burdened with enormous foreign debts which exceeded 52 billion dollars.

Concerning the economic crisis in south Korea, a Japanese magazine wrote, "It is doubtful in the present far-gone critical situation whether the Chun Doo Hwan government will hold out one or two more years."

According to a south Korean underground dispatch, most of the information from different quarters in Seoul and Washington were unanimous that the Chun Doo Hwan government's stability was slender.

The prospects of the Chun Doo Hwan regime were gloomy.

"The Second Military Blackguard"

The US imperialists' colonial policy in south Korea ran still deeper into a blind alley.

Under such circumstances, a voice of apprehension that "a situation similar to that of the Philippines will develop in south Korea" often rang out from among the US imperialist ruling circles.

The US imperialists who considered it necessary to pacify the anti-US, anti-fascist sentiments of the south Korean people in order to keep a tight hold on south Korea, the only colony in the Asian continent, hastily began stage-managing the farce of "changeover" of the moribund Chun Doo Hwan "government".

The script of the play was prepared by the White House, and the Departments of State and Defence, and a detailed plan of performance was worked out by the US ambassador and Americans operating in south Korea.

Needless to say that the US imperialist-sponsored "power transfer" farce now on the order of the day was aimed at prolonging the military dictatorship. Roh Tae Woo, a military gangster trained for a long time by the American masters, was picked out to play the leading part in the US imperialist-backed "transfer of power" farce in south Korea.

Roh Tae Woo was born as the eldest son of Roh Byong Su, a pro-Japanese running dog, at Sinryong-ri, Kongsan Sub-county, Talsong County of North Kyongsang Province (Sinryong-dong of Taegu City at present) in December 1932. Under the Japanese imperialists'colonial rule, Roh Byong Su was outwardly

a clerk of the sub-county administrative office, but he was a spy of the secret service police. He carried out the colonial predatory policy of the Japanese imperialists faithfully. He was promoted to the county office for his "merits" in informing the Japanese police against a large number of patriots to be killed. Later, he was punished with death by the people as a traitor to the nation.

Born into the family of a traitor, Roh Tae Woo grew up cultivating from his childhood the quality of a traitor ready to betray his fellow countrymen and fawn upon the foreign forces for his own personal comfort and career and the quality of a villain who stoops to any infamy for money and fortune.

After joining the puppet army, he entered the military police school. Recalling those days, he said that "the charm of the military policeman who can investigate anybody" (the magazine *Sindonga,* No. 9 of 1985) made him choose the military police school. After graduation, he stayed on the staff of the school, where he displayed his cruelty and ruthlessness. He was a hard taskmaster giving the students a relentless training in man killing. He was second to none in applying physical punishment. He displayed an unequalled mettle in arresting and punishing inhabitants on false charge of "evasion of service", "unpatriotic activities" and what not.

After the overall testing of his qualities as a blood-thirsty felon, the US CIA had him enrolled in the military academy as its 11th-term cadet in 1951.

There he put his heart into man-killing exercises to catch the favour of his American patrons. Meanwhile, he won the confidence of his American instructor at the

school Macran, a CIA agent, by informing him on the movements of his fellow cadets. Roh Tae Woo was merciless towards those who got scent of his mean acts or hurt his feelings.

In his military academy days Roh Tae Woo's nickname was "Akachin" (mercurochrome) because his hands were often red with mercurochrome. So, there was blood on his fists almost every day. In this course Roh Tae Woo formed close intimacy with Chun Doo Hwan who was his fellow cadet and a secret agent of the US army.

Appraising Roh Tae Woo as a promising stooge, the Americans took him together with Chun Doo Hwan to the United States in 1959 and gave him education in psychological warfare at a special war school and enrolled him as their agent.

In this period Roh Tae Woo grew in his brutality and craftiness as expected by his patrons. The instructors heaped unstinted praises on him as he used to hurl himself like a ferocious animal into the training they imposed on him, streaming with sweat. They extolled him as the "most enthusiastic student." He often told his American instructors that "the United States is my benefactor" and that "I am a man born for the sake of the United States," and made it a rule to inform on the speech and behaviour of his colleagues.

So the director and the instructor of the special war school rated Roh Tae Woo as "a thoroughly reliable person who can render devoted service" to the United States, and this appraisal was entered in the personnel files kept in the CIA.

By acting in concert with Park Jung Hee's May 16 military coup on the orders of the Americans, he won the

post of information officer of the puppet army's counterintelligence corps. He worked feverishly to investigate the moves of the dissenters in the army and purge them.

In reward for his "merits" Roh Tae Woo was appointed information section chief of the counterintelligence corps of the puppet army in 1966, and during the US imperialist war of aggression on Viet Nam he volunteered and went to the Vietnamese war as a battalion commander of the "Tiger Unit" of the puppet army.

His temper as a murderer was shown from the moment he took his unit to the Qui Nhon area of South Viet Nam. During the Vietnamese war he earned a notoriety as a homicide through over 100 times of operations of carnage against the Vietnamese people.

The people of the Qui Nhon area condemned Roh's battalion by saying, "The horse-ear unit (so called because Roh Tae Woo has large ears) is a gang of man-eaters."

The review for 1969 published by the US Department of Defence wrote that the pacification in the Qui Nhon area was most successful. This showed Roh Tae Woo's brutality and "loyalty" to the United States.

Looking back on those days, Roh Tae Woo said, "I found my life worth living and interesting although I stayed cooped up and sitting on my heels in a highly damp place of the jungle for more than half a month." (The south Korean monthly *Wolgan Chosun,* No. 3, 1986.)

Back to south Korea, he was promoted to the post of regimental commander of the puppet army and then to the commander of the 9th special airborne combat brigade.

Later, he raved that he felt a "great pride in his contribution to the formation of the special airborne combat brigade." This very airborne brigade gained notoriety in the genocide of Kwangju.

After that, he became the assistant chief of the operations section of the "Presidential" Security Office. He was then transferred to the post of the 9th Division Commander of the puppet army stationed at the front line early in 1979, and there he perpetrated military provocations against the northern half of the Republic, when, on October 26 that year, Park Jung Hee was killed by shooting.

After the death of Park Jung Hee, the US imperialists egged Chun Doo Hwan on to form the "leading forces" with the 11th-term graduates of the Military Academy as the backbone and stage the "December 12 coup of army purge" to eliminate the anti-Yushin forces in the military. Roh Tae Woo played the "decisive part" in the coup.

Prompted by his American masters, Roh Tae Woo led the 9th Division into Seoul and unhesitatingly cleared out his former seniors and colleagues. For this service, he became the "Capital Garrison Commander" and then the "Security Commander" of the puppet army in only eight months.

Roh Tae Woo ran amuck to strangle democracy and suppress the patriotic forces. When hundreds of thousands of patriotic youth and citizens of Kwangju rose up with fury in the struggle against the oppressors, he let out:

"If Kwangju falls into the hands of the rioters (meaning the resistance fighters), Seoul will fall and the security of the United States will be endangered. You

must exterminate the rioters to the last man."

These fiendish words were uttered by way of order to the soldiers of the special airborne combat unit of the puppet army who turned into homicidal maniacs under the influence of liquor and hallucinant at the time of the Kwangju genocide. Roh Tae Woo appeared before them stealthily to give this order for massacre. Under the order, the paratroopers went into action to commit unheard-of mass murder in Kwangju, crushing the citizens who rose in defence of democracy by running tanks over them, cutting their bellies open and tearing off their limbs.

Referring to the mood of Roh Tae Woo who gave a bloody banquet in merriment after the Kwangju massacre the Japanese magazine *Sekai* exposed:

"After killing such a large number of citizens in the Kwangju incident of 1980, they invited representatives to the headquarters of the airborne unit in the suburbs of Seoul and gave a banquet in celebration of the Kwangju pacification, where they caroused freely. There Roh Tae Woo was treading on air like a hunter who bagged a tiger, boasting of his 'merits'."

Roh Tae Woo revelled in manslaughter. After his assumption of office as "Minister of Home Affairs", he newly set up anti-communist investigation division in the Internal Security Headquarters with an eye to charging the patriots and political opponents with "pro-communist offences" drawing on his experience of establishing the Bin Go Hotel in the Army Security Command, and had it make a speciality of bestial tortures against them. At this anti-communist investigation division the patriotic student Pak Jong Chol was tortured to death and Kim Gun Tae, Chairman of the

National Federation of Democracy, Youth and Students, was put to ruthless tortures.

Roh Tae Woo who seeks to strangle democracy and continue with military fascist dictatorship committed criminal acts more insidiously on a political plane after he became the "representative member of the Democratic Justice Party".

Roh Tae Woo polished his tact as a murderer under the wing of US imperialism and travelled all along the path of bloody crimes.

The Americans chose Roh Tae Woo as a new star in the "power transfer" farce because he was unsurpassed in "loyalty" to the United States and inferior to none as a military blackguard.

Wirepulling

Stage-managing the "power transfer" play in south Korea, the US imperialists contemplated prolonging the military dictatorship so as to prevent democratization and keep south Korea as a strategic base by all means. In word they said that they would "not interfere in the democratic development of south Korea", but in deed they manipulated behind the scenes to maintain the military junta in south Korea.

In his essay published in June 1987, Bruce Cumings, Professor of Washington University, USA, wrote that the decisive factor in the south Korean policy of the United States is south Korea's strategic position before anything else rather than human right or democratization. One should not forget, he stressed, that in the long run the United States may cause social discontent

as at present and will back up the new dictatorial "government" instead of democratization which tends to establish relations with the north by some means. (The March 1987 issue of the Japanese magazine *Sekai*.)

As the voices calling for the constitutional revision for direct presidential election rose higher than ever among the south Korean people along with the rising tide of democratization, the US imperialists made the Chun Doo Hwan clique manoeuvre for prolonging the military dictatorship under the name of "absolute defence of the constitution". In opposition to this, the democratic forces launched a campaign for collecting ten million signatures demanding the constitutional revision. In an attempt to neutralize this campaign, the Americans urged their Seoul puppets to put up the slogan for a "consensual revision of the constitution" based on the "ruling-oppositon compromise." This was prompted by ulterior motives of US imperialism.

Commenting on this, the American magazine *Newsweek* of June 2, 1986 pointed out that Chun Doo Hwan's proposal for constitutional revision made under the pressure of the United States was aimed at moderating some neutral opposition groups and thereby hastening the polarization of the opposition forces.

Under the deceptive name of "consensual constitutional revision", the US imperialists worked, to begin with, for disuniting the democratic forces from within between the New Korea Democratic Party on one side and the youth, students and the opposition democratic forces on the other.

The first attempt in this respect was their subtle abuse of the demonstration struggle in Inchon on May 3,

1986. That day the inaugural meeting of the Inchon chapter of the headquarters for the promotion of constitutional revision was held, and the Chun Doo Hwan-Roh Tae Woo clique sent their thugs disguised as students to the place where the demonstration was held. These ruffians staged a "violent struggle" brandishing weapons. Then they called the New Korea Democratic Party to task, condemning the May 3 Inchon struggle as a "violent riotous act of Left forces and pro-communist radicals".

At this, some higher-ups of the NKDP fell into line with the fascist clique's claim that "radical elements in the students' demonstrations should be dealt with strictly" and went to the length of issuing a statement that they opposed the "anti-US and left ultraist demands" of the students and the opposition democratic forces.

As a result, the NKDP which played an important role in the 10 million signature-collecting campaign for constitutional revision was condemned and rejected by the youth and students and the opposition democratic organizations, and shaken up internally.

This was what the American imperialists desired. Availing themselves of this opportunity, the US imperialists openly pressed the NKDP to renounce the nonparliamentary struggle while preaching the "great alliance of conservatives".

For this purpose, the US Secretary of State Shultz hastily visited south Korea on May 7-8, 1986. In spite of this, the nonparliamentary struggle of the opposition parties continued. So the Americans dispatched to south Korea Morton Abramowitz, Assistant Secretary of State for Information and Research.

Hinting at the possibility of coup d'etat in south Korea by using his personal fame as an "expert in coup d'etat" who once worked for the replacement of the Marcos regime in the Philippines, the United States urged the opposition parties to give up the nonparliamentary struggle and come out for the "ruling-opposition compromise".

Such interference and wirepulling of the United States eventually succeeded in bringing the NKDP to stop the struggle for constitutional revision outside the "National Assembly" and go into it for the "consensual constitutional revision" with the ruling party.

At the same time, the Americans operated to disrupt the NKDP from within. For this the American brain trust worked out a script for some NKDP "assemblymen" to form a new political party.

According to this script, the Chun Doo Hwan clique gave a total of 6 billion *won* of political funds to 12 NKDP "assemblymen", or 500 million *won* to each, inducing them to desert the NKDP and form a new opposition party obedient to them.

The American operations for founding the new opposition party were intended to provide favourable conditions for the ruling party to pass unilaterally its own bill for constitutional amendment even when a permanent apparatus for constitutional revision was set up in the "National Assembly".

However, the attempt to withdraw their hirelings from the NKDP faced a difficulty because it was disclosed beforehand. So, the United States made the Chun Doo Hwan-Roh Tae Woo gang adopt new tactics of leaving them in the NKDP, so that they split and disintegrate the party from within by creating confusion in it.

In reference to this, the April 1986 issue of the Japanese magazine *Sekai* wrote:

"Since the twelve seceders are rumoured to have received 500 million *won* each, those who are still remaining in the NKDP find it difficult to get out of it.

"So the Chun Doo Hwan group let them stay in it, and are manipulating them.... Their operations to disrupt the NKDP through the medium of Li Chol Sung and others will be intensified."

The Li Chol Sung faction were opposed to the NKDP's intransigent struggle against the ruling party and insisted on the "ministerial responsibility system" which was like the Democratic Justice Party's proposal for constitutional revision. Thus, they schemed to cause confusion in the NKDP and weaken its strength.

As a result, the conflicts within the NKDP became aggravated and this led to an organizational split with the formation of the Reunification Democratic Party by the majority that left the NKDP.

Under such circumstances, the United States saw to it that Chun Doo Hwan announced the so-called "important decision of April 13" on stopping the "talk about constitutional revision" and carrying out the "transfer of power" under the present "constitution" and that subsequently the farce of nomination Roh Tae Woo as the "presidential candidate" of the "DJP" was staged. This was an undisguised move to prolong the military junta.

The Operations on the Spot

The massive June popular resistance struggle broke

out against Chun Doo Hwan's "important decision of April 13" and DJP's nomination of its "presidential candidate". This anti-US, anti-fascist popular resistance struggle which swept over the whole of south Korea drove the colonial military fascist rule of the US imperialists into a great crisis.

The flurried US imperialists put off their deceptive mask of "quiet diplomacy" and started interfering directly in the internal affairs of south Korea.

State Secretary Shultz dispatched an urgent order to Ambassador Lilley in south Korea to stabilize the political situation as early as possible.

As the political situation in south Korea ran into a new confusion and crisis in connection with the movement for constitutional revision, the Reagan Administration replaced US Ambassador to south Korea Walker with Lilley and CIA branch chief in south Korea Delaney with J. Stein. Formerly, Lilley was a leading official of the CIA and the US State Security Council and was engaged in secret manoeuvres in Asian countries such as Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Philippines as a special agent, intelligence officer and schemer. From 1985 he worked as deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs in the State Department. In particular, at the time of the May 17 fascist outrage in 1980 and during the Kwangju genocide, Lilley was the chief of the CIA branch in south Korea and wirepulled the Chun Doo Hwan clique.

And J. Stein is known as the "third person" in the CIA. He is a political schemer who is said to be the author of the script for ousting Marcos in the Philippines.

While giving new instructions to those engaged in

secret manoeuvres on the spot, the United States hurriedly dispatched Undersecretary of State Edward Derwinski to Seoul on June 20.

Following an emergency meeting at the White House, a letter of Reagan was sent to Chun Doo Hwan urging him to comply with the "demands of the protesters" to stabilize the situation, and Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Gaston Sigur was dispatched to south Korea as a "special envoy" to save the confused political situation. (The *New York Times* of June 22, 1987, and DPA dispatch of June 26, 1987, from Washington.)

So, Roh Tae Woo's eight-point "plan to save the situation" was midwived by Reagan's letter and the manipulation of Sigur in south Korea.

When the "plan to save the situation" was published, *Reuter* of England, *Sankei Shimbun* of Japan and *Christian Science Monitor* and *Washington Post* of the United States wrote that the south Korean situation was developing according to the scenario of the United States, that the United States carried out "rescue operations" three times in the last one and a half years, that when its colonial interests in south Korea were jeopardized, the United States brewed a plot behind the scenes and that the Chun Doo Hwan-Roh Tae Woo's "plan to save the situation" was a brainchild of the Washington intriguers aimed at placating the struggle of the south Korean people.

The "situation-saving plan" was made public by Roh Tae Woo, but its author was his American masters. The United States made Roh Tae Woo put forward this plan not because they wanted to bring about democracy in south Korea. Their object was to get a breathing spell

temporarily and prolong military fascist rule by all means.

In a press interview, the opposition figure Yang Sun Jik said that "situation-saving plan" came out on the Americans' judgement that if the June resistance struggle continued a week longer, the "government" would crumble and then no remedy would work even if the military appeared on the scene. The publication of the plan by Roh Tae Woo was aimed to enhance his "popularity".

Early in June 1987 Roh Tae Woo was "nominated presidential candidate of the Democratic Justice Party", but he was very unpopular. Roh Tae Woo was clearly aware of this. So, in order to boost himself he described himself as a "son of the God borne by the favour of Buddha."

Deriding Roh's words, people remarked:

Chun Doo Hwan said before that his mother bore him after offering a Buddhist mass at a temple and pulling out two teeth as told by the bonze. And now Roh Tae Woo says that his mother had no child for eight years, so she became a devoted believer of Buddhism and faithfully served the priests at the "Pagye Temple" until she gave birth to him. Therefore, Chun Doo Hwan and Roh Tae Woo differ only in the family name, but they are just like two peas which are alike even in their birth story.

Roh Tae Woo who lost face while trying to enhance his popularity had to show that he differed from Chun Doo Hwan. So, as the Japanese magazine *Asahi Review* (No. 9 of 1987) pointed out, "Roh Tae Woo's victory was impossible" if he succeeded to the stance of the unpopular Chun Doo Hwan and ruling party.

Therefore, "his popularity will not rise" unless he gave the people a strong "impression that he is not the follower of Chun Doo Hwan." This was why Roh Tae Woo gave the "democratization commitments" which were called a declaration of surrender.

Pledging themselves to the "direct presidential election system" in the "plan to save the situation", the United States feared more than anything else that the south Korean people might give greater support to Kim Dae Jung than to Roh Tae Woo. For this reason, the United States pressed Kim Dae Jung by all means to give up "his candidacy for the Presidency".

The ex-US ambassador to south Korea Gleysteen said that Kim Dae Jung should abide by his public commitment given in his declaration that he would not run for the presidential election. He warned that if Kim Dae Jung should run for and be elected to the Presidency, a serious trouble may be occasioned due to his relations with the army. And the American press, too, threatened that his victory in the presidential election would possibly entail coup. (The south Korean newspapers *Hanguk Ilbo* of July 5, 1987, and *Taejon Ilbo* of July 8, 1987.)

Meanwhile, the United States asserted under the pretext of democracy that anyone should be allowed to come forward as a "candidate for President", and machinated to make many opposition politicians "run for the Presidency".

This was a ruse of the Americans to ensure the superior position of the ruling party in the election by scattering the votes for the opposition parties.

Further, prior to the elections, the Americans carried out a "cabinet reshuffle" and thus created favourable conditions for Roh Tae Woo's election. The establish-

ment of the "Kim Jong Ryol Cabinet" was an outcome of this scheme.

Originally, advancing the "situation-saving plan", the United States had it in mind to dispatch a "UN inspection team" on the pretext of ensuring a "fair election", so that they could prolong the military junta by means of fraudulent election.

However, the south Korean opposition parties opposed the dispatch of the "UN inspection team" and demanded that a "neutral government" be formed for a fair election. The United States pretended to comply with this demand of the opposition parties and let Chun Doo Hwan tender his resignation from the post of the "president of the DJP" and form the "Kim Jong Ryol Cabinet". The Americans advertised the "Kim Jong Ryol Cabinet" as a "neutral government" intended for a fair election, but they could not cover up the fact that it was a new variety of military dictatorial "government" consisting mostly of people hailing from the army. Kim Jong Ryol himself, the prime minister, was a graduate of the former Japanese military academy and had a long military career serving as the first chief of staff of the puppet air force and then the puppet minister of "national defence".

The US-backed formation of the "Kim Jong Ryol Cabinet" with ex-armymen was aimed not at ensuring a "fair election" but at prolonging the military dictatorship by sheer force.

With the approach of the "presidential election" in this situation, the American aggressors ensconced in Seoul became very busy. They had to strain every nerve and take the initiative to steer the "presidential election" along the lines charted by their home government.

Roh Tae Woo, the DJP candidate for the "Presidency", set out on the "election campaign" to round up votes for himself at the bidding of the American aggressors in south Korea. According to the schedule worked by the US ambassador and his associates, Roh toured Seoul and provinces. He now resorted to a "benevolence offensive" and a "commodity-gifting offensive," and now sat together with nightstall keepers or scavengers and begged them to cast votes for him over a glass of rice wine. The south Korean people in all social strata ridiculed and reproached him for such behaviours.

The so-called "presidential election" was held on December 16, 1987, amidst a wild and fearful atmosphere as under martial law. The puppet police, army and other forces for suppression were called out, and orders for violent repression were issued one after another. Political terrorist groups like the "young men's voluntary service corps" and special agents ran riot. The "election" was literally the worse type of violent election and a scene of fascist outrages. It was the foulest farce to cook up Roh Tae Woo's election as "President".

The Americans encouraged the riffraffs of Roh Tae Woo's DJP to send out the troops of the puppet army and police force by using their favourable position as the ruling party so as to level their guns at the electors and, on this basis, to muster for the "election" the entire administrative force from the high-ranking officials of the puppet government down to the heads of sections and neighbourhood units, the lowest administrative units.

Instructed by the Americans, Roh Tae Woo alloted to the DJP district committee chairmen, his yes-men, the quotas of "votes" to be secured and bound them to

meet their quotas without fail. Meanwhile, he sought madly to win the confidence of the people by squandering the "national funds" made up of the taxes levied on the people.

In fact, the recent "election" was an act of "power" robbery which outshined Syngman Rhee's "March 15 election fraud" and Park Jung Hee's "presidential election" by dint of the constitutional amendment for his third-term office. Roh Tae Woo's "election to President" was faked up entirely by means of frauds and wiles and by threatening the people at the point of bayonet.

In the recent "election" 12 million people surpassing the majority of the voters who went to the polls clearly evinced their stand demanding the civilian government, against the extension of military dictatorship by Roh Tae Woo, demonstrating that no one could ever brush aside this mighty force of struggle.

Every day meetings and demonstrations are held in protest against the faked election of Roh Tae Woo with the participation of various segments of people including youth and students in Seoul, Pusan, Kwangju, Mokpo, Chunchon, Ryosu, Masan, Taegu and other parts of south Korea.

This meant that the south Korean people and the parties and forces in opposition declared the recent "election" null and void as a whole and did not recognize Roh Tae Woo's "return".

In an attempt to tone down the fighting spirit of the people, the United States and its stooges noisily advertised as if the recent "presidential election" opened up a path for "democratic development" in south Korea and met the people's "expectation"

After paving the way for prolonging the pro-US

military dictatorship by manipulating the "presidential election" from behind the scenes, the United States made desperate efforts to seduce the south Korean people into accepting the "election" returns.

Early in January 1988, Solarz, Chairman of the Subcommittee for East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee of the US Congress, flew to south Korea and, describing the fraudulent election which trumped up Roh Tae Woo's "return" as a "fair election", made a false representation that the south Korean people "were accepting it". This was a sort of pressure applied on the south Korean people and the opposition forces to make them submit tamely to the forged result of the "election".

In this way, according to the script and stage direction by the United States, the colonial rule was extended in south Korea with Roh Tae Woo put at the head of the puppet government which took the place of the Chun Doo Hwan "government".

The United States seeks to keep a tight grip on south Korea as a colony and a military base and continue with their policy of aggression and war by using the pro-American military hooligan Roh Tae Woo, but this is a folly.

Roh Tae Woo will meet the same fate as the successive rulers of south Korea who met a sad end hated and repudiated by the people for their pro-American acts of flunkeyism and treachery against the people.

The United States which lords it over south Korea occupying it as its colony will find itself bogged down still deeper in the mud with passage of time.

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